THE RICE INSTITUTE

Thomas Moore and the Irish Question

by

Madelyn Gail Martin

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR

THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

W. S. Dowden
John E. Parish
Lucile C. Nelson

Houston, Texas
April 1960

To Dr. W. S. Dowden, with immense gratitude for his helpfulness and encouragement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

One of the most outstanding defenders of the suffering Irish nation in the early nineteenth century was the poet Thomas Moore. It has often been taken for granted that Moore's own background of Irish Catholicism was the motivating factor in his many attempts to expose the injustice of England's treatment of his homeland and thereby bring about reform, but such an assumption fails to explain why he bothered to defend a nation in which he refused to live and a Church which he refused to attend. This thesis is an attempt to reconcile the seeming paradoxes in his position by an examination of the poetical satire written by Moore in connection with the "Irish question," that is, the struggle of the Irish Catholics for political equality and religious toleration while subordinated to a wealthy nation which had little understanding or sympathy for their peculiar economic and political problems.

Because the politics of both England and Ireland are vitally connected with this particular group of Moore's poems, a brief review of the condition of Ireland during the poet's time and a mention of works other than poetical satire contributed by Moore to the political and religious thought of the day are in order.

In the eighteenth century, England and Ireland were ruled in actuality by the same basic government, and yet

> the people of England and Ireland . . . are among the most dissimilar in Europe. One is chiefly Protestant, the other is chiefly Roman Catholic; one is principally manufacturing and commercial, the other is almost wholly agricultural; one lives chiefly in towns, the other in the country. . . . In the one the proprietors of the

> soil are connected by origin, by interest and by feeling with those who occupy it; in the other they are, in many cases, strangers. In the one public sympathy is with the law; in the other it is with those who break it. In England, crime is infamous; in Ireland it is popular.[1]

Thomas Moore was born in 1779 in a Dublin of penal law days, when Catholics were barred from Parliament, public office, the army, the learned professions, and the Irish university. The anti-Catholic laws, forced on a Catholic nation by its Protestant Irish Parliament, were a result of the Cromwellian conquest by which the bulk of land passed into the hands of Protestants largely strangers to Ireland, and of the thwarted attempt of James II to restore land to Catholics, an attempt which strengthened the determination of the landowners to suppress the huge Catholic population. Thus the penal laws were not so much an effort to subdue Ireland as to punish an heretical people and to prevent possible threats to the Protestant ownership of property. This system of suppression not only prevented the natural Catholic leadership in a country that belonged overwhelmingly to the Roman Church, but forced such potential leaders into the services of other nations, where the Irish distinguished themselves time and again.

Such laws as that prohibiting any education except such as was biased by Protestantism and that forbidding the practice of Catholic worship had dangerous results, which were contrary to their purpose: not only did such laws fail to weaken the Catholic religion, they transformed Ireland, "with its religion and its teaching carried on at the risk of penalties, illegally, . . . into a vast secret society,"[2] and destroyed respect for law.

Ireland's people became a peasant population whose members were seldom able, without turning Protestant, to rise from their almost-feudal state of land tenants. The Church was not weakened; on the contrary, the "social and intellectual depression of the faithful . . . strengthened the hold of the priests over their flocks,"[3] and the clergy almost invariably supported legal authority and gave little encouragement to rebellion.

The peasants were kept in their suppressed state, also, by laws passed by the English government in connection with Irish trade. Because most of Ireland's exports were the same as those of England, the latter attempted to limit or bar Irish products by such laws as that requiring Irish exports to pass through an English port (increasing expenses), and those placing duties on such heavily competitive goods as woolens, glass, and live stock. These laws, mostly passed in the reign of Charles II, were ruinous to the small Irish manufacturers, who could not hope to compete with their great industrialized neighbor; and the Irish were thrown back on the land as their only means of support.

Not only did most of the peasant's money go into his landlord's pocket, but the poor man was also required to tithe to the Established Church, regardless of his own faith. Because both landlord and Anglican clergyman were often absentees, this money went largely into England, and the peasants, who often could not legally export produce in order to earn money for rent and tithes, began large-scale smuggling, while the landlords also winked at the law and raised rents as they pleased.

Resident nobles and gentry, all Protestant of course, sat in the Irish Parliament, but this body could be overruled by that of England, and the ministers at the head of Irish administration were the English Lord Lieutenant and his Chief Secretary. The Irish landlords maintained their leadership only through the firm support of the British government, and the result was the huge bureaucracy known as Dublin Castle, full of corruption and ruled by cliques and absentees. The Primate of the Established (Anglican) Church of Ireland, chief adviser of English government in Ireland, was also English.[4]

The taxation imposed on the people of Ireland by the English government was also unfair. Not only was it out of proportion when compared with the population ratio of the two nations, but the resulting funds maintained an unreasonably large army and paid grants to persons actually unconnected with Ireland.

With the eighteenth century came a population increase, and consequently higher rents and a greater competition for land. Resistance to harsh methods of collection of tithes and to excessively high rents became widespread, the typical form of resistance being the

> loose agrarian confederations, almost all of which had their origin in specific grievances. The existence of these secret societies proves the strength and the extent of mass hostility against the prevailing order, but their sporadic occurrence and their inability to change the broad features of the system demonstrate the superiority of the powers ranged against them in defence of the landlords.[5]

Against this background of English domination and Irish servility appeared the poet whose reputation as the bard of Ireland

and one of his nation's greatest patriots was to swell enormously in his own age and then to shrink in the minds of men who lived after him. Whether Moore ever came into actual contact with the poverty of Ireland when he was a child is uncertain, but it is true that his own strain of nationalism was prompted by his association, in the 1780's and 1790's, with the respectable patriotism of the group headed by Grattan. The Irish Parliament called by Grattan's name had been granted legislative independence in 1782 and was regarded as a government of Ireland by its own respectable classes, although the classes were largely composed of the Irish landlord and gentry groups who were concerned with the continued maintenance of the social system on which their welfare depended. This modified form of home rule did result in a certain amount of progress and prosperity, however, and provided some protection for Irish crops, while Dublin gained prestige and business as the meeting place of the ruling body. Throughout the 1780's, the Irish declared their allegiance to the Crown, asking only that they be allowed self-government, even by a landlord Parliament, in return.

This conformity to accepted, reasonable rule in an age of reason, a "Whig version of Irish nationalism"[6] which submitted the nation to the most enlightened and educated classes, was the point of view largely adopted by Moore, even after his later contact with the rebellious Robert Emmet. Similarly, Moore's proximity to the simple Christian deism of the Catholics of Dublin helps to explain his own later laxity in the ritual of his religion while he claimed that the spirit was sustained. Although born "with

a slave's yoke around my neck"[7] and having seen the early enthusiasm of Ireland at the deliverance distantly promised by the French Revolution, Moore was granted a privilege the denial of which would probably have exaggerated the bitterness with which he was to regard England's treatment of Ireland. He was enabled by the Act of 1793 to enter Trinity College in Dublin, one of the first Catholics to be so privileged. By virtue of his faith he was, however, barred from any academic distinctions and had to be content with proving that he deserved them.

In the same year that Trinity College was opened to Catholics, the vote was given to every Irish land tenant who had a holding valued at forty shillings a year, but this vote of "forty-shilling freeholders" was rendered largely ineffective by the inability of Catholics to enter Parliament or other official positions and by the landlords' control of their tenants' votes. These steps toward reform were to be the last for quite a while, and the French Revolution frightened the British government into greater suppression of the Irish, suppression including the strict Insurrection Act and the suspension of habeas corpus.

A movement for Catholic Emancipation seemed about to bear fruit when the sympathetic Lord Lieutenant, Fitzwilliam, was recalled by Pitt in 1795, and Dublin went into mourning. Secret organizations multiplied and the suppressed Catholic societies were fought by the defending Protestant ones. The United Irishmen, an organization originally composed largely of Protestants and begun with the purpose of loyally encouraging Parliamentary reform and Catholic

Emancipation, had turned rebellious and worked toward separation and independence after numerous refusals by the government to act on their claims. This society, whose agitation had helped to gain the forty-shilling vote, was led by Wolfe Tone into a desperate and treasonable correspondence with France as their final attempt to gain political self-expression for the masses.

It was during the conspiracy of Ireland with France that Moore was gaining knowledge and prestige at Trinity. Having entered the college in 1795, in the following year he joined a small debating society which boasted the talents of Robert Emmet. Moore and Emmet were soon members of the Historical Society in which, debating on past civilizations and nations, Emmet indirectly damned England's unfair control of Ireland. It is interesting to note that the Scholars of Trinity, under Moore's chairmanship, had drawn up an address to Lord Camden on the occasion of his arrival as successor to Fitzwilliam, an address which bewailed "the removal of a beloved Viceroy, whose arrival we regarded as the promise of public reform," and which expressed a hope that

> the harmony and strength of Ireland will be founded on the solid basis of Catholic Emancipation, and the reform of those grievances which have inflamed public indignation.[8]

Lord Edward Fitzgerald added his influential voice to Tone's in negotiations with the French for aid in Ireland's determination to overthrow English rule. However, the year 1796 saw the failure of Lazare Hoche's fleet of French ships to land in Ireland, and the year that followed was marked by a steady decline in the hope of the Irish when the English defeated a second French fleet and captured

members of the Directory of the United Irishmen. The failure of the French to follow up their first efforts, which fell short through their own ineptitude rather than through any concerted resistance on the part of the English or the Irish, probably indicates that the French revolutionary tendencies were weakening and that France was becoming more concerned with matters from which it could expect an easier and more fruitful return. Napoleon had little sympathy for the Irish rebels, and the death of Hoche in 1797 closed a chapter in French relations with Erin.

Martial law became the order of the day in a restless Ireland, troops being quartered on the people. In the meantime the Press, a mouthpiece newspaper for the United Irishmen, published a "Letter to the Students of Trinity College" from the youthful Moore, in which he urged his fellow-students to elevate Ireland to "that rank in the climax of nations, from which she is fallen."[9] It was Emmet himself, secretly deep in conspiracy, who pushed Moore out of danger, "hinting that to write like a brass band was perhaps not the best method of concealing conspiracy."[10] Moore was later to feel gratitude for Emmet's comments and for his mother's insistence that he promise to avoid similar agitation.

The year of the greatest trouble and discouragement for the Irish was, of course, 1798, which was marked by the unprecedented examination of Trinity students in connection with their loyalty to England or possible rebellion. Lord Clare was the examiner, assisted by Dr. Duigenan, representative of the Protestant archbishop of Dublin. Moore recalled, years later, how the disappearance of Emmet

and others proclaimed "how deep had been their share in the transactions of the United Irishmen."[11]

Although Moore hesitated to take the oath because he was unwilling to name others who had actually been involved in the activities of the rebel organization, he was evidently under little suspicion, and was asked no questions that he felt would incriminate anyone else, so he came through the examination safely.

He shared the terror and sorrow of all Dublin when Lord Fitzgerald was taken and wounded, later dying in prison, and when fear spread through the city at the possibility of an attack by the rebels who were in the midst of an outbreak nearby. The shock of these experiences, especially to a man as sensitive and averse to suffering as Moore, may help to explain why he "retreated for the rest of his life into the safe Whig view which holds that progress comes, not from revolution, but from reform."[12]

More than ten years before, the opposition of the Irish Parliament to the proposed regency of the degenerate Prince had shown the danger of maintaining two equal Parliaments under one king. Although the Irish Parliament was not a truly national power because it was not truly representative, and although it was not completely free because it could not overthrow a ministry, the difficulties raised by the definite opposition of such a body became apparent. The Catholics and even the northern Protestants opposed a Union with England, but the Irish Parliament was one of landlords and absentees, more concerned with their positions than with the political dilemma of the common people. And the prevailing Irish

"government by corruption was expensive, . . . but above all cumbersome and in times of crisis dangerously inefficient."[13]

Castlereagh, as the Irish Secretary,

> saw the problem clearly and rested his solution of it upon two considerations--the impossibility of refusing to the Catholics parliamentary representation, and the imprudence of giving it to them in such a way as to give them also a majority.[14]

Only a Union could succeed in both ways and this Castlereagh set himself to effect.

> His was the hand that . . . carried through the vast business of corruption by means of which a bridge, ill-built on bribes and titles, was thrown across the Irish Channel and two peoples were affirmed to be at one who were, in fact, as different as they could be.[15]

The Act of Union of 1800 and the failure of England to follow it up by granting the implied and expected Catholic Emancipation was

> the most complete expression of Ireland's subjection and England's supremacy, . . . the categorical denial of the existence of an independent Irish nation with interests of its own.[16]

Ireland was deeply outraged, not only by England's refusal to admit Catholics and other dissenters to Parliament and to office, but also by the stubborn opposition of the British government to a badly-needed revision of the tithe system and to the endowment of Irish Catholic priests at a time when the Anglican clergy in Ireland were at least partially supported by grants from the State.

> The refusal to solve the Catholic question at the time of the Union . . . was the greatest political blunder ever committed by a British government in its dealings with the Irish people.[17]

The war with France had perhaps brought on the Union a little quicker, as England needed the products of Ireland and its position as an ally. The Irish were accepted into the English army and navy and food prices went up in a general war boom.

Moore had withdrawn himself from the political arena and, having been settled at the Middle Temple in 1799 with the knowledge that an Irishman must leave Ireland in order to find worldly success, he took advantage of a new acquaintance, Lord Moira, in order to get the Prince Regent's approval of a volume of Anacreon's odes to be dedicated to the Prince. This was followed by a group of amatory verses known as The Poetical Works of the late Thomas Little, Esq.

Moore's trip to America in 1803, on his way to assume a position as Registrar of a Naval Prize Court in Bermuda, coincided with another event in the Irish rebellion and one which was to sadden the poet. Robert Emmet, his fellow student at Trinity, led an attempt to take Dublin Castle, was captured and executed, asking that no man write his epitaph until Ireland had taken her rightful place among the nations of the world.

It is significant that Moore was somewhat appalled at the social revolution he found in America, and questioned the wisdom of complete enfranchisement of the lower classes. It was only after this trip that he began to interest himself in subjects that were to characterize his later and more serious work in both verse and prose. The hesitantly political Epistles, Odes, and Other Poems, full of keen observations on America, was published in 1806, and Moore eventually acknowledged that these epistles reflect the one

period in his life when he was in doubt about the efficacy of the Liberal creed of politics. He later admitted that he

> should blush as a lover of Liberty, if I allowed the hasty prejudices of my youth to blind me now to the bright promise which America affords of a better and happier order of things than the world has perhaps ever yet witnessed.[18]

On a visit to Dublin in 1806, Moore was approached by William and James Power with a proposal to commercialize Irish music by publishing it with words composed by Moore. The poet, his patriotism reawakened by the Dublin sojourn, agreed and wrote, in a letter which serves as preface to the first number of Irish Melodies (1808), " . . . our Airs, like too many of our Countrymen, for want of protection at Home, have passed into the Service of Foreigners."[19] This first number included "Oh! breathe not his name" in commemoration of the dead but unforgotten Robert Emmet.

In the same year "Corruption" and "Intolerance," Moore's first serious political satires, appeared in pamphlet form. These poems are written in a heavy style that does not compare with the sparkle of the poet's later, lighter satire. The first is concerned with the replacement of royal Prerogative by monetary influence and the resulting betrayal of Ireland by her leaders, and ends with a prophecy that England will also be ruined if it trusts the same leaders. If he "sympathized much with Ireland, he at first, and at last, blamed Irish leaders . . ."[20]

The second poem deals with the bigotry and intolerance, not only of the members of the Established Church, but even of Catholics. These and other satirical poems will be discussed at length later.

Moore's Letter to the Roman Catholics of Dublin (1810) was a restatement of his opposition to putting government into the hands of the ignorant, a further proof that his view of good government was more in the tradition of Grattan than of Emmet. This "letter" was occasioned by the stubborn determination of the Irish people in their hostility to a proposal that the king be allowed to veto appointments of Catholic bishops in Ireland, a hostility resulting from the agitation of Daniel O'Connell in spite of acquiescence from Rome and a possibility that Emancipation might have resulted. "Notable even in an age which produced the great political pamphlets of Burke, Mackintosh, Wordsworth and Shelley,"[21] Moore's epistle contains a plea for tolerance and for wisdom in statesmanship, with a repudiation of Irish political demagogues.

O'Connell was the best representative of the type of politician Moore particularly disliked. A Catholic native of the county of Kerry, O'Connell was criticized for his constant attempt to mold the spirit of the Irish Catholics into a dangerously strong political force and to place himself in the prominent position of guide to this great force. It was not the uniting of the Irish people to which Moore objected, but certain distinct moves made by the politician that cannot be completely defended as the most expedient for the nation. Exemplary was O'Connell's successful agitation against the Veto, for it was the united opposition of the Irish people to that question that gave the Catholic priesthood of the country the beginning incentive to take a more active part in the political life of the people. The unprecedented political union of people and clergy

gave O'Connell the tremendous national voice he controlled and put to use in constant agitation for Emancipation and reform. If the Veto question had succeeded and Emancipation had followed, O'Connell's own political prominence would not have been so great, for the natural Catholic leaders, the noblemen and men of property who had so far been denied a voice in the political arena, would have overshadowed him.

The Prince Regent, upon the long-expected insanity of George III, deserted his Whig friends (and, with them, the Catholic question) and thus left the Tories in power. Moore's hope that his patron, Lord Moira, and, in turn, himself would gain advancement soon proved futile.

The Whigs in their Holland House retreat were joined by the poet, who began witty skirmishes against the Prince and his followers. The most notable of the many delightful squibs that followed is the "Parody of a Celebrated Letter," a mockery of a letter from the Prince to the Duke of York explaining that "my sense of duty to our Royal father" had prompted him to keep the Tories in. The treachery of the Prince's failure to act in accordance with expectations is emphasized in this epistolary parody, supposedly from his own pen, in which his vain and cowardly nature is well exhibited. The poem is a humorous elaboration of the Prince's ridiculous excuse that he left the Tories in because he felt that in case his father recovered, he would be dismayed if "improvement had spoil'd any favourite adviser," and that the king would be much more pleased to discover that "We've been all of us nearly as mad as himself." This poem will be treated at length later.

The public mouthpiece needed by Moore was found in the Morning Chronicle and used freely from 1812 to 1842 to publish various satirical poems. Outstanding in the large group of satires that appeared in the 1810's were the Intercepted Letters, or the Two-Penny Postbag which came out in 1813 and added the crowning blow to a series of denunciations directed against the Prince and the government.

It was in the fourteenth edition of this work (1814) that Moore added the preface so well known for its statement of his status as a Catholic. He describes the fictitious author, Tom Brown the Younger, as a Catholic but not a Papist, and as the husband of a Protestant woman and the father of Protestant children, with whom he attends services.

The distance between Moore (in London) and his Irish home, combined with the adaptation of his works to an attentive English audience, resulted in the gradual alienation of his attention from his homeland.

> The Whig had swallowed up the Irishman, and from 1813 . . . to 1824 . . . Moore was less the nationalist than the petted bard of upper-class liberal circles in England and on the Continent.[22]

O'Connell's vast Catholic Association, serving later as a model for modern political organizations and indicative of the traditional Irish concern with politics, combined in itself the large numbers of Catholics in two groups--the middle class club and a peasantry composed of members who subscribed a mere penny a year but who considered themselves part of the body that was working to save their nation and who therefore followed the

great agitator even when he resorted to policies that were more to the advantage of the middle class than to their own. The Association granted membership free to Catholic priests, and their identification with the movement resulted in added support from the masses.[23]

Moore's disgust with O'Connell and other Irish "democrats" is expressed in his answer to Lady Donegal's warning that he should avoid them:

> If there is anything in the world that I have been detesting and despising more than another for this long time past, it has been those very Dublin politicians. . . . much of this vile, vulgar spirit is to be traced to that wretched faith, which is again polluting Europe with Jesuitism and Inquisitions.[24]

And a month after Waterloo, he expressed himself even more strongly:

> . . . as for the Catholics, one would wish them all in their own Purgatory, if it were not for their adversaries, whom one wishes still further.[25]

Moore's attitude at this time can perhaps be traced at least partly to his injured pride at the failure of a great number of his countrymen to show any appreciation for his Irish songs. It may be noteworthy that the sixth number of Irish Melodies includes two poems expressing the hopelessness of the Irish cause, a cause that he could not always believe was in a "tradition so vivid, so emotional, so fanatical as to withstand the miasma of failure and despair."[26] The poems were "'Tis Gone, and For Ever" and "Dear Harp of my Country," expressions of a hopeless desolation which could hardly have gained favor from the Irish.

Moore's early "ardor of patriotism," of the type which doomed Emmet and others, seems to have been in the poet little more

than "an affair of sentiment," which "spent itself during his long sojourn away from contact with Irish minds."[27]

In May of 1817 appeared Lalla Rookh, Moore's impressive oriental poem which uses an Eastern situation to teach the West a lesson. One of the tales is concerned with a persecuted religious sect called the Ghebers or Fire-Worshippers and their determined rebellion. The "veiled sedition"[28] of the tale, apparent particularly to Irishmen, was found in Moore's sympathetic treatment of the revolt and its young leader, who is invariably associated with Robert Emmet. In another tale, "The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan," the fatal fascination exercised over a patriotic people by a prophet is, no doubt, an indication of Moore's belief in the danger "inherent in a situation which allows a demagogue to play upon the religious prejudices of an ignorant people,"[29] another reflection of the poet's aversion to the methods of O'Connell.

In The Fudge Family in Paris are found both the "frivolity and the bitterness of the period"[30] in the cynical letters of Phil Fudge, the renegade Irishman and spy, and of Phelim Connor, the fanatical Irish patriot.

After Waterloo, the people of Ireland had found themselves faced with more serious problems than before the Napoleonic conflict. The war boom collapsed, prices and markets for Irish products dropped abruptly while rents remained high, and returning soldiers swelled the population and increased the competition for land. Landlords became aware that land could be more profitably used for grazing than for agriculture and many evictions followed. This jump in

evictions resulted in the extensive reduction of the largest voting class of forty-shilling freeholders. Actual starvation for at least a month of every year was the usual condition of the people, and the failure in 1821 and 1822 of the potato crops on which the cotters depended for their only food, resulted in famine and a tremendous increase in emigration, while across the Channel England was prosperous and well-fed. Just how far from the thought of Catholic Ireland Moore was at this time can be seen in these words, written in Paris in 1822, concerning "that most noble country," England:

> For that genuine highmindedness, which has honesty for its basis; for that good faith, that punctuality in engagement, which is the soul of all commercial as all moral relations, for that spirit of fairness and liberality among public men, which extracts the virus of personality out of party zeal, for that true and well understood love of liberty, . . . the Englishman may proudly say, . . . "This is . . . my native land, and I have seen nothing that can . . . compare with it."[31]

In 1819 Moore had been informed that the deputy he had left in charge of his naval prize court in Bermuda had absconded with a large sum and that Moore was liable for it. In order to escape imprisonment for debt, the poet had gone to Paris with Lord John Russell and had not returned until late in 1821, he and his friends in the meantime having found means to pay the lost sum. This exile resulted in Fables for the Holy Alliance and Rhymes on the Road in 1823, denouncing governmental oppression of all kinds, including that aided by the Catholic Church in some European countries.

Rioting was widespread in Ireland in 1822 and 1823, the followers of the mythical "Captain Rock" burning the houses of landlords.

and refusing to pay tithes. The Catholic Association, aided by the Irish clergy, spread rapidly throughout the country.

Moore, invited to accompany the Lansdownes to the land of his birth, was brought into contact (evidently for the first time) with the miserable realities of the lives of his people, and he began to write with hot indignation about the sources and historical background of his country's plight. In 1824 he published the satiric Memoirs of Captain Rock, the Celebrated Irish Chieftain, with some Account of his Ancestors. His first important work not in verse, Captain Rock is indicative of his increasing preoccupation with

> matter which he could not handle except in prose--matter of serious controversial argument--and matter which he was impelled to handle by a growing desire to serve his own country.[32]

"Captain Rock" is, of course, a generic name for the leaders of Irish insurrections, and Moore used this fictitious character as a mouthpiece for the narration of Anglo-Irish affairs, to show that English policy had always been conducted in the way most likely to insure the continued prominence and prosperity of the Rocks. The poet put this ironic assurance into the mouth of the hero's father:

> There is no fear, my children, of such a deviation from the usual course of nature, as a wise and liberal administration of the government of Ireland would exhibit . . . Under the Penal laws we were benighted and hopeless--complete Enfranchisement would make us enlightened and satisfied;--it is only in the twilight state between, that those false lights and spectral appearances are abroad, by which men's optics are deceived, and their imaginations led astray . . . that the feverish and almost maddened excitement comes on,

> which is so favourable to the views of our ancient family.[33]

Particular criticism was aimed at the English refusal to give the Catholics of Ireland the opportunity to own property and to educate themselves. Not only have the Irish been deprived of "those two stabilizers of a commonwealth," they are "whipped . . . into continual dissatisfaction by a church inimical to their native religion, which they are forced by law to support in ease and luxury."[34] The tithing system is called by the fictitious captain

> a sort of complicated infliction, which, if ever the art of driving people mad should again become the study of a Christian government, deserves to be remembered among its most efficacious rules.[35]

Thus Moore examined the circumstances which bred the crimes of his country and condemned, not the rebels, but the causes of their understandable revolt, a "perpetual insurrection perpetually repressed."[36] Says Rock,

> My unlucky countrymen have always had a taste for justice--a taste as inconvenient to them, situated as they always have been, as a fancy for horse-racing would be to a Venetian.[37]

And some of the greatest minds of the century agreed with this view, as Moore pointed out when he quoted Sheridan as saying, " . . . the tyranny practised on the Irish has been throughout unremitting. There has been no change but in the manner of inflicting it."[38]

Captain Rock created a sensation and produced at first wry smiles and then, in the words of the Edinburgh Review, "conviction and pity, shame, abhorrence and despair." The British

government was indignant, and the only immediate results were some changes in the laws having to do with the recovery of debts in Ireland. The book's reviewer deplored the fact that

> the time is not yet come, when it will be believed easier to govern Ireland by the love of the many than by the power of the few--when the paltry and dangerous machinery of bigotted /sic/ faction and prostituted patronage may be dispensed with, and the vessel of the State be propelled by the natural current of popular interests and the breath of popular applause.[39]

Perhaps the one reason why Captain Rock has not found a place in the ranks of the great political satires is that Moore does not wholly agree with the Irish in spite of their oppression; he cannot help but condemn the demagogic leaders who take advantage of the ignorance of his people in order to use them as such leaders please. He disapproves, particularly, of the violence and threats of violence used to sue for freedom.[40]

Moore's Catholicism was so unobtrusive to his friends in 1825 that Lord Lansdowne remarked, with reference to a magazine article in which some of Moore's songs were mentioned, "They take you for a Catholic," to which Moore answered, "They had but too much right to do so."[41]

Moore harrassed the government by a series of anonymous squibs in the Times from 1826 until 1835 (at the same time that he was also contributing to the Morning Chronicle). Beginning with financial matters, they dealt also with the Catholic question, the Corn Laws, the corruption of the Church Establishment, the insistence of the Orangemen that Irish Protestants remain in control, and other contemporary issues. Enraged by the failure of

Catholic Emancipation in 1827, he wrote satirical comments on the prominence of bigotry, on the sending of cartridges to Irish garrisons to prepare for rebellion, on the attempts of some English statesmen to conciliate both English and Irish at one time. Many of these were collected by Moore and published as Odes on Cash, Corn, Catholics, and other Matters in 1828.

In the same year the poet noted in his diary that he had remarked to Lord John Russell that it was time for him (Moore) to do

> what many circumstances had hitherto indisposed me to, viz., take an active part in the affairs of the Catholics, and that one could best serve the Catholics by keeping out of their ranks, and joining their cause, not themselves.[42]

A dramatic situation had been created when O'Connell had his followers elect him to Parliament (in which he could not actually take a place). The politician's election in 1826 by tenants who knew full well that they risked eviction by voting against their landlords' wishes, was a disturbing blow that made the rulers of Ireland and England decide that Emancipation was, after all, preferable to war.

In 1828, the Test and Corporation Acts had been repealed insofar as they excluded Protestant Dissenters from public office. This event gave added impetus to the growing admission that Catholics should not be barred from office because of religion. The long-awaited Emancipation Bill was passed in April of 1829 and opened to Catholics Parliament and all public offices except those of Lord Lieutenant and Chancellor in each country, while another

bill raised Irish voting qualifications from forty shillings to ten pounds. Thus the Catholics were supposedly admitted to office, and yet the voting right of almost all the Catholics in Ireland was removed, rendering the former bill largely ineffective. This two-sided enactment happened largely because of the persuasive powers of the agitating O'Connell, whose "victory had been purchased at the expense of Ireland's political future,"[43] as the English government was anxious to remove votes that could no longer be controlled by Protestant landlords.

In 1831 Moore published his Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald against the wishes of Lords Lansdowne and Russell, who thought that the work might "jeopardize reform by seeming to encourage Irish rebellion."[44] This biography, a history of the politics of Moore's own youthful days, sympathetically portrays the patriotic but ill-fated Fitzgerald and asks hopefully for a peaceful righting of Ireland's wrongs. The passing of the Emancipation and Reform Bills revealed Moore as not quite as staunch a reformer as he claimed to be, but rather

> an Irish politician of Grattan's school, hostile to every kind of Radicalism, but strong in defence of . . . the principle of religious toleration and the principle of nationality.[45]

Such reforms as the above brought again to his mind the undignified struggle of the lower classes to rise, and caused him to remark in 1832 that the

> absence of this sort of ambitious effort . . . gave the upper classes so much more repose of manner, and made them accordingly so much better company.[46]

It was this attitude that gave rise to the expression, "Tommy dearly loves a lord," and, as Hazlitt remarked, Moore was on such good terms with the nobility that any lack of propriety on their part was startling to him. Howard Mumford Jones qualified this view by saying that Moore, realizing the superior position of the nobility, detested and "bitterly castigated those lords, spiritual and temporal, who were not worthy of their high station."[47]

When a movement to return him to Parliament began, Moore was distressed by public advertisements of him as an "unqualified Repealer," and at the criticism engendered by his friendships with nobility. Protesting that he would never take a place in Parliament except as an "unfettered and independent Irishman," he denied that his high-placed friends "have ever interfered for a moment or <u>can</u> interfere with either my right of thinking for myself or of speaking with perfect freedom what I think."[48] When he declined the honor, saying that his writing and the support of his family took up his time, he also protested that he wanted to remain largely concerned with "that cause which has always been uppermost in my heart, . . . the cause of Irish freedom," and to serve this cause by pleas for better laws and by laughter and scorn for "mean bigotry and desperate ignorant prejudice."[49] Howard Mumford Jones has noted that Moore's fight for Irish freedom consisted more of attacks on the mistakes of the aristocracy than of support of the common people of Ireland,[50] but it does seem to be true that Moore could render better service to the Irish cause by remaining an independent Whig and keeping himself free from the pressure groups of which he disapproved.

O'Connell had begun agitation for repeal of the Union, a matter in which the tithe question was a central issue. An attempt to solve this problem was made by a new policy of charging tithes to the landlord, who of course took it out of the rent which was raised accordingly.

In 1833 appeared The Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion, a prose work in which Moore posed as a Trinity student of the Catholic faith in order to examine the history and authenticity of the Catholic Church. The student, upon hearing the news of Emancipation, exclaims, "Thank God! I may now, if I like, turn Protestant." It appears that Moore was at this time realizing that his defensive position with regard to Catholicism had so far been more a matter of honor than anything else, and only after the intensive study that went into this work was he thoroughly attached to Catholicism instead of the vague Christianity to which he had so long adhered. In later life he wrote, "A Catholic I should certainly be, if I could get over the initial difficulties of belief common to all the Churches . . ."[51]

The "Irish Gentleman" investigates his religion in an attempt to discover the errors and corruption in it of which he has so long heard, but finds instead that it was the Protestants who departed from the doctrines of the early Church. He is at last convinced that Catholicism is the "original and only logical form of Christianity."[52] According to Moore himself, the intention of the Travels was to produce a weapon rather than to establish faith, and, although he denounces the tendency of people to "identify

an author with his hero, let the hero be ever so obviously, and (in this case) declaredly a fictitious one,"[53] he admits that

> my views concerning the superiority of the Roman Catholic Religion over the Protestant in point of antiquity, authority, and consistency agree with those of my hero, and I was induced to put them so strongly upon record from the disgust which I feel, and have ever felt, at the arrogance with which most Protestant parsons assume to themselves and their fellows the credit of being the only true Christians.[54]

This work makes evident one probable attitude of the sociable and lord-loving Tommy toward his Church: Catholicism was considered the religion of the vulgar, and the poet

> had not the greatness to be whole-hearted with what was such a poor thing in the world of statesmen, of men of letters, and of the great doers of works in the business world of England . . . And the little pretensions, the ignorance of the outer world, the narrowness, the vulgarity, of his shoneen Ireland, vexed him.[55]

In the words of Moore's hero,

> I felt--as many other high-spirited young Papists must have felt before me--that I had been not only enslaved, but degraded, by belonging to such a race.[56]

The agitation for Repeal and the unreasonable position of the Irish Established Church were becoming more evident, and a suggestion arose that some of the more obviously useless Irish dioceses be abolished. The Whigs took over in 1835 and were appointing a few Catholics to office. The impoverished Irish masses were on the brink of civil war, while Rome and prosperous Presbyterian Ulster were all in favor of a continuation of the Union. Moore began to believe that separation must be accomplished in order to bring about any real help for the people. His early hopes

that the Whigs would rule with more wisdom than the Tories were largely unfulfilled and he remarked that "so hopeless appeared the fate of Ireland under English government, whether of Whigs or Tories," that he would be

> almost inclined to run the risk of Repeal . . . , being convinced that Ireland must go through some violent and convulsive process before the anomalies of her present position can be got rid of.[57]

In 1835 Moore was given a pension of three hundred pounds. Fiercely denounced by his enemies, this grant seems to have had little effect on the poet's views or his expression of them. Satire, especially on the Established Church of Ireland and on the stubborn Bishop Phillpotts, came plentifully from his pen.

A sequel to his early "Fudge" work appeared in 1835, The Fudge Family in England, which took up a great deal of contemporary theological controversy through use of the figure of the Rev. Mortimer O'Mulligan (a satirical portrait of an old opponent, the Rev. Mortimer O'Sullivan, a Protestant minister who was a renegade Catholic as well as author of a rebuttal of Moore's Travels of an Irish Gentleman).

In the meantime, the poet had begun his History of Ireland. The four volumes appeared in 1835, 1837, 1840 and 1846, and exhausted him completely. The first volume received a good bit of attention because it came out during a heated Church controversy, but the later volumes were given little notice.

The Repeal Association, founded by O'Connell in 1840, was aided in its fight for a dissolution of the Union by the temperance mission of Father Mathew (insuring order, to a large extent,

at the huge meetings of the Association) and by a newspaper called the Nation, founded by Charles Gavan Duffy in 1842 and supported by "Young Ireland," a group of younger men favoring revolutionary methods in the struggle to regain the original Irish nation. The attitudes of this group seem to bear out the statement that

> the worst evil of rule through the British Parliament was that Ireland learnt to despair of an appeal to justice. . . . Violence ceased to be regarded as criminal, if it could be regarded as a means to justice.[58]

The failure of the huge mass Repeal meeting scheduled for October, 1842, outside of Dublin, a failure for which O'Connell, who cancelled the meeting because of a government proclamation and the appearance of troops, is usually blamed, was considered an ignominious defeat for the Catholic claims to political leadership. O'Connell's trial and imprisonment, shortly reversed by the House of Lords, left him a hero in the eyes of the people, who called him "The Liberator" and remembered that he "had first taught the mass of the older race and religion to feel and act like free men."[59]

The Great Famine of 1845, during which Ireland's population dropped alarmingly because of starvation and emigration, caused a definite break between the peasants and the middle and higher classes, because the food in Ireland was still used for rents or exports rather than for the sustenance of the diminishing populace. Rioting took place everywhere, and Moore himself became sufficiently aware of the situation to revile those who let the poor starve rather than relinquish their own profits. The famine was caused, after all, not so much by a lack of food as by the

inability of the people to buy it. Thus the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 did not do much to alleviate the situation. The Whigs felt that no interference with private enterprise should take place, and the Irish starved for months, while England sat back and America sent food.

Another remedy was attempted in a system of public works, but the pay was better than that obtained by working regular farms, and a protest from the landlords replaced the system with a method of relief for those owning less than a quarter of an acre. This choice between starvation on one's land or property-less existence off it led to the relinquishing of their bits of soil by many more peasants.

This was the situation of Ireland when Moore last looked on her with any understanding of what he saw. The poet's mind began to fail him after 1840 and he declined into a state of complete mental helplessness in 1848. He died in 1852.

The question of whether Moore helped or harmed Ireland and whether his Irish Catholic background was the directing factor in such help or harm is an interesting one. Although it is true that he praised England and discouraged the use of Gaelic in his native land, that he vehemently criticized O'Connell's methods while agreeing that something must be done, that he deliberately refused to stand as M.P. on behalf of any definite party or group, that he left his homeland and settled in the midst of certain of the English Whig nobility as their protected favorite, and that he abandoned completely the outward forms of the Church he claimed

to defend, it must be admitted that his long campaign for tolerance and liberalism was one of the vital forces in the recognition by the world and even by England of the cruelties visited on Ireland by her alien rulers. His determined independence resulted in his denunciation of both Protestant and Catholic prejudices and serves to explain to a large extent his inability to submit himself completely even to the Church that he felt "transcends all others."[60] He was, without doubt, "a Liberal first and a Catholic afterwards,"[61] i.e., a defender of the Catholics because he was a Liberal concerned with the outstanding political issues of his time, but the fact remains that, in an age of turmoil and suppression, his voice was heard in vigorous protest against bigotry and injustice and served to remind men that the Catholic peasant was, after all, no less a man than the Protestant noble.

An examination of all of Moore's political satire would better indicate that the poet was generally inclined to adopt Liberal causes without any particular national or religious reference and that his writings on the Irish question form merely a part of the larger picture of his general political inclinations. The scope of this thesis, however, is limited to that portion of his work dealing with the condition of the Irish Catholics.

CHAPTER II

On the occasion of the 1841-42 edition of Moore's collected works, a leading political journal of the day remarked that such a "bundle of political pasquinades," more than a quarter of a century old, required some sort of editorial comment on the part of the author in order to make the lesser-known satirized persons and events clear to younger readers. The Times continued,

> It is . . . incumbent on Mr. Moore,--if he wishes his political squibs, imbued as they are with a wit and humour quite Aristophanic, to be relished, as they deserve to be relished, by our great grandchildren --to preface them with a rapid summary of the events which gave them birth.[1]

Moore's answer to this suggestion appeared in the ninth volume of the 1841-42 edition and showed his awareness of the fact that good political satire lives on after its own age, as a rebuke or reminder to those who would repeat the historical events that had provoked ridicule. The power of such satire is, he said, in its transmission of the

> scourge of ridicule through succeeding periods, with a lash still fresh for the back of the bigot and the oppressor, under whatever new shapes they may present themselves.

With a happy claim that his satires, "thanks to the undying nature of human absurdity, . . . have lost, as yet, but little of the original freshness of . . . first application," the poet modestly admits that the continuing effectiveness of such poetry "redounds far less to the credit of poesy than to the disgrace of legislation."[2]

Moore's awareness of the larger aims of satire, the ridicule and reform of serious human faults, is thus made apparent,

but the amount of historical study necessary for a thorough understanding of the greater portion of his political poetry at the present time makes it evident that this awareness of the purpose of satire on his part did not always prevent the satirist's natural tendency to aim his sharpest barbs at the idiosyncracies of particular persons and events. The abundance of personal names and references in his satire, coupled with a frequent concern with happenings too commonplace to be recorded historically, provides an adequate explanation for the fact that the poet's lyrics of Ireland have far outlived his politically-concerned works in the eyes of the world.

His political writings are, however, the most important in an attempt to determine his basic attitudes toward Ireland and the Catholic Church, as the obvious and undeserved castigation of both by England was the principal target of his wit.

Having tried his hand at playful satire as early as 1794 in Ireland,[3] the poet was first made aware of the gravity of politics while at Trinity, the rebelliousness of the students and the various other events of 1798 providing him his first glimpse of actual danger as part of political life. This new recognition may have been the reason that he largely avoided politics as a subject for poetry from this time until 1808, when he had been in London for about nine years. In 1807 he had written to Lady Donegal that a poet should have a definite interest in politics if he intends to be widely known in such an age:

> I begin at last to find out that <u>politics</u> is the only thing minded in this country, and that it is better even to <u>rebel</u> against government than to have nothing to do with it; so I am writing politics.[4]

The poems "Corruption" and "Intolerance" were the first results of this newly-awakened interest, and the failure of these attempts to reach the playful but pointed height of his later satires is perhaps an indication that as yet politics was little more than a self-enforced sphere of literary endeavor rather than an area of personal concern and involvement.

"Corruption" is a heavily determined and lengthily annotated condemnation of the utter uselessness and terrible effects of a governing body controlled by patronage, the monetary replacement for royal prerogative. Prerogative had been eliminated by the Glorious Revolution of 1688, but the expected return of rights to the Irish did not follow. As that revolution was without reform, so Moore expresses a hope that a "Reform without Revolution" is impending.

"Addressed to an Englishman by an Irishman," the poem reprimands the English for their national pride, a pride that is ridiculous in the face of that nation's shameful treatment of its own people and of the Irish. Parliament is no more than a group of representatives bribed by the government to do its will, whereas the representatives are intended to do the people's will. The situation is the same that would result, remarks Moore in a footnote, if the king

> were simple enough to send to foreign courts ambassadors who were in the pay of those courts, . . . he would be just as honestly and faithfully represented as are his people.[5]

The real freedom of the English and Irish people is lost, the poet exclaims with regret, and without even the dignity of a

struggle. Freedom won the battle against James and Popery, but its triumph was prevented by new foes in the guise of Whigs and gold. The people pay for their own representation, but added money is received from the government and thus the representatives are more concerned with the pleasure of the court than with the wishes of the people. Just as Luther's teachings lowered the king-like popes, so they reduced the recognized power of pope-like kings, but the force of monetary reward took its place and proved even more dangerous in the oppression of a people who could not make itself heard.

A provocative aspect of the struggle of the throne to maintain its power, the poet comments, is the variety of uses to which the cry of "No-Popery" has been put. In the fight to overcome James and obstruct his Romish designs, anti-Catholic feeling was aroused in the people so that they would protest the possible loss of their freedom under Catholic rule. Since then, Moore points out, the same feeling has been used to strengthen the government and prevent the extension of rights to the people. Once the cry of freedom, "No-Popery" is now a factor in its continued denial.

Men call for reform and agitate for freedom only until they are in office: "<u>To</u> place and power all public spirit tends,/ <u>In</u> place and power all public spirit ends." (ll. 149-150) Even the Whigs, who fought for positions in order (they said) to help the people, calm down when they are elected: "But bees, on flowers alighting, cease their hum--/ So, settling upon places, Whigs grow dumb." (ll. 161-162) As Hazlitt sadly agreed:

> One is hard-bested in times like these, and between such opposite factions, when almost every one seems to pull

> his own way, and to make his principles a stalking-horse to some private end; . . . when a universal outcry is raised against you on one side, which is answered by as dead a silence on the other; when none but those who have the worst designs appear to know their own meaning or to be held together by any mutual tie, and when the only assurance you can obtain that your intentions have been upright, or in any degree carried into effect, is that you are the object of their unremitting obloquy and ill-will. [6]

Ireland's only revenge for her oppression and despair will be the ruin of England by the same men who brought about Ireland's sad condition, but the "rank refuse" of government that will result will be sweet vengeance indeed.

"Corruption" is a largely ineffective and unsatisfactory piece of satirical writing, too serious and too close to engulfment by its notes to be of much value either in its own age or in ours. It made little impression on first appearance and was never republished except in collected editions of Moore's works. Its significance is little more than the fact that it identified the poet definitely with the cause of the oppressed Irish and that it made clear his determination to remain aloof from both of the great political parties.

"Intolerance" deals more directly with the irrational prejudice felt by the English against Catholics, but is even less effective as satire than "Corruption," with which it was published. First calling attention to the political advantages for which England can thank Catholics, such as the king-deposing doctrine ("which was of no little service to the cause of political liberty, by inculcating the right of resistance to tyrants, and asserting the will of the people to be the only true fountain of power"[7]) and the English constitution, Moore proceeds to level a charge

of inconsistency against those who condemn the Papists, first for their slavishness, then for their rebelliousness.

A glance at Ireland ("If thou hast yet no golden blinkers got") will show bigot Zeal at its worst, for Duigenan, the violent anti-Emancipation Irishman, and Perceval, one of the court opponents of Irish claims, revive the pope's old tradition of condemning souls on religious grounds. The day will come, sings the poet,

> . . . when the memory of her /Ireland's/ tyrant foes
> Shall but exist, all future knaves to warn,
> Embalm'd in hate and canonised by scorn.

And even the practised hand of the treacherous Irishman, Castlereagh, will not be able to bribe away that day. With a recollection of the "blood-marks" left by Camden, the sympathetic Lord Fitzwilliam's more stern successor as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Moore praises the Irish people's "spirit, kind and brave," in spite of their tormentors,

> Who, arm'd at once with Prayer-books and with whips,
> Blood on their hands, and Scripture on their lips,
> Tyrants by creed, and torturers by text,
> Make <u>this</u> life hell, in honour of the <u>next</u>!

Voluminous notes point out that Protestants have no right to condemn Catholics for "closing the door of salvation upon others," while their own teachings often attempt to do the same. And in the same vein, Protestants are foolish to accuse the Papists of being ruled by the decrees of Church councils that do not pretend to deal with matters of faith.

It would be better to be a pagan and "take my chance with Socrates for bliss," exclaims the bard, than belong to a

faith which hates to gain a convert because it thereby loses a victim--"in a convert mourns to lose a prey."

The combination of Church and State is then attacked, with quotations from the statesman Fox and the philosopher Locke to support opposition to a union of two such "perfectly distinct and infinitely different"[8] institutions, a union the result of which can only be the interference of each with the proper workings of the other.

The true Christian, Moore weakly concludes, is he who opposes the coupling of tyranny and religion and who "Blesses each voice, whate'er its tone may be,/ That serves to swell the general harmony." This spirit, once bright in the great English statesman, Fox, is at least half alive in Grattan, the Irish Protestant advocate of Catholic Emancipation.

"Intolerance," like its sister poem, is buried in scholarly notes that range all the way from Pierre Bayle and Roger Ascham to "one Franciscus Collius," and loses even the force of its happiest phrases because of the constant distractions such notes entail. And, as Howard Mumford Jones points out, "a general plea for a wider diffusion of 'all-atoning Love,' whatever its moral rightness, does not create effective satire."[9] Scorning as it does the prejudices of Catholicism as well as those of Anglicanism ("Bigots alike in Rome or England born"), and asserting the intelligent Catholic's freedom from the outdated decrees of councils and popes, the poem defends the Roman church from the bigotry of both herself and her enemies, and it is partly because of this

attempted combination of rationalism with Catholicism that it fails: Moore's unorthodoxy made his conclusion incompatible with the views of either side.

The appendix to "Intolerance" consists of a prose essay on the "History and Music of Ireland" and is concerned with that nation's failure to produce great heroes and its lack of themes for use in poetry and in the promulgation of national pride. The only poetic subjects that seem to abound in that country are sorrow, suffering, and oppression. Recalling the reign of Theodosius of Antioch (which provided the first "example of a disqualifying penal code enacted by Christians against Christians"[10]) and the softening of the emperor's heart by the sorrowful songs of the oppressed people, Moore concludes that the music of Ireland, indicative of grave and continuing national misfortune, should possess such powers. The connection of such a view with the publication, in the same year, of the Irish Melodies (which the "History and Music of Ireland" was originally intended to preface) is obvious.

In 1809 appeared "The Sceptic," subtitled "A Philosophical Satire," which treats extensively the advantages of scepticism and points out along the way various abuses of the Irish.

The poem's preface, pointing out that the difference between the scepticism of the ancients and that of the moderns is "that the former doubted for the purpose of investigating, . . . while the latter investigate for the purpose of doubting,"[11] comments on the Christian's natural alarm at any signs of personal doubt about a religion that is so much a matter of faith, but

claims the freedom of such a man to doubt within the "circle of human pursuits" and maintains that a "rational and well-regulated scepticism" is actually helpful to Piety because "he who distrusts the light of reason, will be the first to follow a more luminous guide."[12]

The poem, which begins with an acknowledgement that sense impressions exist only as they are received by the mind and that, therefore, what seems true or beautiful to one person may not to another, goes on to apply this generality to particular persons and nations, who have a tendency to deceive themselves in their judgment of matters with which they are personally concerned. (Thus, remarks Moore, there may actually be a nation which would allow Castlereagh the title of patriot.)

A churchman is seen as all the more convinced that his is the true Church if his faith is reinforced by two livings instead of one. England favors revolt against church-state rule in Spain, but suppresses it in Ireland: "While prais'd at distance, but at home forbid,/ Rebels in Cork are patriots at Madrid."

In such days as these, the poet says, the independent Sceptic is luckless, because his refusal to adhere to either party results in a pensionless existence, yet what honorable man can resist the pleas of Honesty when

> Whig and Tory, thief opposed to thief,
> On either side in lofty shame are seen,
> While Freedom's form hangs crucified between.

Even historians may distort facts, as one can see in Sir Richard Musgrave's favorable interpretation of the severe measures enacted

by Charles I and Strafford in Ireland and the acclaimed victories where defeats actually took place. Science is no exception to the group of systems that may be blasted by doubt and reason; one example is the former central position of earth in the planetary system and its present paltry place.

In concluding, the poem hails Ignorance and claims that "Unletter'd minds have taught and charmed men most," using Columbus and Shakespeare as examples. In a world which contains so many theories regarding divinity, nature, and eternity, Ignorance is by far the "last, best knowledge of the simply wise," when coupled with Charity, "whose beacon glows/ For all who wander, whether friends or foes," and a Faith that "keeps her white sail furl'd,/ Till called to spread it for a better world." These are the companions of one who doubts--"and trusts in nought but Heaven!"

"The Sceptic" is expressive of an intellectual position that would seem to be the wisest one in the realm of politics, one of doubt as to the honesty and worth of parties and factions. Moore rightly asserts that the intelligent man will naturally be sceptical of promises and of the wisdom of adherence to any party, seeing as he does the failure of all groups to advocate complete and unselfish justice. This attitude accords with the feelings of Moore in connection with the Irish question, for he saw the refusal of the English government in its duties to its Irish subjects and, though attached to the Whig party because of its customary devotion to liberal policies and reform, he made it a point to reprimand the members of that party when he felt

that they were allowing their sense of justice to be clouded by desires for personal gain or by political laziness.

The poem contains comments, too, on Moore's religious position, for it becomes evident through these verses that the poet was certainly not an orthodox Catholic. Scepticism of the sort encouraged in the poem is not in accordance with the requirements made by the Roman Church, which calls for obedience to church law and acceptance of doctrine, and which emphasizes the necessity of a strong faith in the tenets it proclaims. "The Sceptic," particularly interesting because it is something of a statement of Moore's philosophical position, demonstrates the poet's voluntary position as an outsider in matters of formal religion, his determined independence and his advocacy of tolerance.

These first three satirical poems are indicative of the idealistic and often pedantic views of a young poet. The satire that is too serious to be fully effective and the excessively voluminous notes, plus the obstinate refusal to commit himself to any party or cause except the vague table-pounding demand that something be done about the condition of Ireland--these unite to interfere with the reader's favorable reception of Moore's views and to render his early satire dull and unenjoyable when compared with the sprightly pointedness of his later political poetry.

CHAPTER III

The occasion that finally aroused Moore's wrath and talents so that he began to write excellent political verse was the desertion of the Whigs by the Prince Regent in 1811, with the resulting drop in the hopes of the agitators for Catholic reform and of the Whigs for positions. The latter effect of the Regent's cowardly about-face affected Moore personally, because his patron, Lord Moira, through whom the poet had met the top members of the Whig aristocracy and the Prince himself, should have received some sort of office from which the poet could have reaped a beneficial post. To a writer who struggled all his life for adequate financial means, this was no small treachery on the part of the Prince. Political, national and religious indignation boiled in Moore, and the poetry that resulted, Intercepted Letters; or, The Two-Penny Postbag, was adequate proof of a real flair for satire.

The "letters" in the abandoned postbag were supposedly picked up by an agent of the Society for the Suppression of Vice and were welcomed by that organization as "worth a whole host of informers." An examination of the bag showed, however, that most of the missives were concerned with the highest social class, a class with which the Society seldom ventured to interfere, so the bag was sold and the author ("Thomas Brown the Younger") decided to provide himself with material from it for a book, having already published some of his verse adaptations of the letters in the Morning Chronicle. The success of these satires in a new Moore vein is due to the superb abilities that first became apparent in this group of sallies; as Howard Mumford Jones has expressed

it,

> they were executed with a care and a polish rare in the history of political versifying. Their timeliness, the air of amused detachment with which he managed to surround them, the volleys of silvery laughter which his rhymes showered in elfin rain upon the opposition--these qualities, together with a lyric gift which other satirists sometimes lack, gave him, or ought to give him, a place unique and apart in the history of political poetry.[1]

The letters had begun to appear in 1812, and the vicious returns by Tory papers showed how truly Moore's barbs hit their marks. The uproar on both sides increased and Holland House rejoiced at the appearance of Moore's 1813 volume, which intensified the attack on the Prince and the leading Tories. Not only concerned with political failings among the high-placed members of the administration, many of the clever squibs made personal and social attacks. The "politician there sharpens the poet's pen"[2] so well that fourteen editions were brought out in a year.

The occasion that resulted in the first letter of the volume was the presentation by Lady Barbara Ashley of a pair of ponies to the Princess Charlotte of Wales. Because Lady Ashley was Catholic, Popish influence was strongly suspected in the gift, and Moore, using the Princess as his mouthpiece, writes of a Cabinet Council which is concerned with the grave consequences of such an action and the many safeguards that might be used to curb the Catholic tendencies of the ponies.

The amusement aroused by such sparkling lines as these is explanation enough of the popularity they enjoyed:

> 'Tis a scheme of the Romanists, so help me God!
> To ride over your <u>most</u> Royal Highness roughshod--

. . . had these said creatures been Asses, not Ponies,
The Court would have started no sort of objection,
As Asses were, <u>there</u>, always sure of protection.

But the adroit handling of the question by Moore is shown at its cleverest in the various possible methods (proposed by the Irish Castlereagh) to render the ponies harmless:

"To make them quite harmless, the only true way
Is (as certain Chief Justices do with their wives)
To flog them within half an inch of their lives.
If they've any bad Irish blood lurking about,
This (he knew by experience) would soon draw it out."
Should this be thought cruel, his Lordship proposes
"The new <u>Veto</u> snaffle to bind down their noses--
A pretty contrivance, made out of old chains,
Which appears to indulge, while it doubly restrains."

The last suggestion, which is designed to check the ponies or break their necks, is the most acceptable and even Eldon agrees "to a measure so mild." When "Charlotte" signs off with a statement that she will drive to Lady Barbara's "in these <u>Vetos</u> some day," it is hard to imagine a more successful satirical treatment of the English court's stubborn and suspicious oppression of the Irish and its determination to gain further control by imposing the Crown's veto on the appointment of Irish Catholic bishops.

In Letter IV Moore puts ridicule of the Catholic Church in the mouth of a well-known Irish politician who was violently opposed to Emancipation, and then shows him up as worse than the Catholics in the very aspects for which he berates them. Patrick Duigenan writes to Sir John Nichol, bewailing the fact that his own attacks on the Catholics have grown so violent that he must keep quiet for a while, and sending to Nichol his portfolio of documents to use as grounds for attacking the Romanists in his

stead. Recalling the absurdity of the Catholics' former damnation of everyone but themselves, Duigenan hotly says that it is their turn to be damned. An enclosure, listed as an "Unanswerable Argument against the Papists," asserts that Irish Catholics baptize with spittle and therefore should not be freed, because " . . . the man, baptiz'd with spittle,/ Hath no truth in him--not a tittle!" This, Moore implied, is about as true and serious as any of the reasons given for refusing to emancipate the Catholics. But perhaps the most effective part of this "letter" is the pompous and ironic statement of Duigenan that the contents of his portfolio are designed

> To prove (what we've long proved, perhaps)
> That, mad as Christians us'd to be
> About the Thirteenth Century,
> There still are Christians to be had
> In this, the Nineteenth, just as mad!

The appendix to the poem adds prose remarks regarding an additional enclosure to Duigenan's letter, an enclosure purported to be a correspondence from a fabled female Pope,[3] Pope Joan, whose love for a young priest motivated her study of church doctrines and her eventual elevation to the papal throne. Having made her lover a Cardinal, she is exposed by a catastrophe unknown to Church Councils when she "let a little Pope pop out before 'em--" Moore fires at Duigenan and his friends, who

> deduce . . . (in their usual convincing strain) that Romanists must be unworthy of Emancipation now, because they had a Petticoat Pope in the Ninth Century. Nothing can be more logically clear . . .[4]

The subject used by Moore was of a type he was sometimes criticized for employing in such a ribald manner, that is, topics of a serious

religious nature to Catholics. And, in spite of the fact that he later countered the charge of irreverence with a quotation from Pascal ("Il y a bien de la difference entre rire de la religion et rire de ceux qui la profanent par leurs opinions extravagantes"[5]), the attitude he displayed in such poems as this one show him to be an extremely unorthodox Catholic.

One of the most amusing of the "Intercepted Letters" is the sixth, an epistle from one "Abdallah, in London, to Mohassan, in Ispahan," which praises the English highly for their exemplary manner of persecuting the Irish, a manner of treatment well known to the Shiites of Persia, who persecute "our Sunnites,--hateful dogs!" in a similar way. Abdallah goes on to name the offenses of the shameful sect: they pray with "neither arms, nor legs, nor faces/ Stuck in their right, canonic places." They refuse to wear green slippers; they "wash their toes--they comb their chins,/ With many more such deadly sins . . ." Obviously, writes Abdallah, their intentions must be seditious,

> Since no man living would refuse
> Green slippers, but from treasonous views;
> Nor wash his toes, but with intent
> To overturn the government . . .

The Sunnites are not really persecuted; they are merely flogged by orthodox believers whenever met and refused "rank or honour, power or profit." The Papists are extremely lucky, exclaims Abdallah, to fare as well here as the "rascal Sunnites" do in Persia.

One other epistle in the Two-Penny volume should perhaps be mentioned in connection with the Catholic question. Letter II,

from Colonel McMahon, the Regent's favorite, is addressed to Gould Francis Leckie, whose Practice of the British Government favors the complete authority and independence of monarchy and attacks political liberty. The colonel declares that the book is praised by the Prince, who hopes for a

> Far more royal, loyal era;
> When England's monarch need but say,
> "Whip me those scoundrels, Castlereagh!"
> Or, "Hang me up those Papists, Eldon,"
> And 'twill be done--ay, faith, and well done.

The Two-Penny Postbag was Moore's first great satirical success, indicative of the fact that a new awareness of and closer concern with politics had combined with what Moore called "that lighter form of weapon . . . from its very lightness, perhaps, more sure to reach its mark"[6]; the result was a "perfect 'nest of spicery'; where the Cayenne is not spared."[7]

It was in the fourteenth edition of this work that Moore's statement of his religious position was made in answer to accusations of Papistry. Though the author was, he wrote, a Catholic, he was not a Papist and actually went to Anglican services with his Protestant wife and children; such a statement could not but serve Moore's interests in a political climate that was distinctly anti-Catholic.

The series was, however, a distinct and recognized attempt to aid the Irish Catholics in their struggle for political equality, containing as it did open and sharp ridicule of various aspects of Protestant bigotry and unreasonable political suspicion. Not only does it reprimand the Prince for deserting, in his failure to oust the Tories, the proposals which the Whigs

were making for the correction of Ireland's plight, but it also points out that many of the so-called Catholic doctrines used by the Protestants to emphasize the unworthiness of the Catholics for political equality were, first of all, distortions or fabrications, and, secondly, without any bearing at all on the Papists' just deserts.

It was while the volume of poems discussed above was being written that Moore became associated with the Whigs, a natural outcome of his basic political tendencies and the righteous indignation of that party at the dashing of their hopes by the Prince. The little Irish poet was a figure known to all the members of the London aristocracy, where his elegance of manner and cleverness of wit charmed and attracted them, but he joined the Whigs in sympathy if not in name because their desertion by the Regent left him without the lucrative position for which he had hoped and because they seriously advocated some of the Irish reforms that he favored. As Lord John Russell expressed it,

> Moore was imbued throughout his life with an attachment to the principles of liberty; and he naturally adopted the principles of that party which contended for religious liberty and political reform.[8]

Moore's pen became the principal weapon in skirmishes against the Tory officials and particularly against the Prince himself, whose vanity and hypocrisy aroused an extraordinary amount of satire. The group of Moore's poems called "Satirical and Humorous Poems" marks the poet's determined push into the thick of the Whig-Tory battle, a role often condemned by Irish patriots

because it often took him further away from the Irish cause, except as that cause was one of many grievances for which the Whigs condemned the ruling party. And the disgust he felt at the demagogic rule of O'Connell and his fellows, combined with the failure of the Irish to respond wholeheartedly to his Irish Melodies, drove him further from complete sympathy with his countrymen. From this time on, Moore's

> life and work and interest and even admiration were bound up with the English civilization which Ireland never had had the benefit of.[9]

Sir Walter Scott pointed this out as the sad result of

> being so much in fashionable life, where a man who frequents it without fortune or rank, is very likely to lose his time without adding to his reputation.[10]

Moore was one of the best known literary figures of his time, but his constant regard for his political connections probably helped to prevent his writing any political satire of truly great and lasting worth. As has been pointed out,

> His love for Ireland was a sentiment only; it never rose to the dignity of a passion. . . . Liberal opinions, Moore supported by tongue and pen, but then they were fashionable within a sufficiently extensive circle of notabilities, and had nothing of the coarseness and downrightness of vulgar Radicalism about them.[11]

"Satirical and Humorous Poems" is concerned primarily with the very fashionable criticism of the aristocracy and consists largely of occasional verses that were published from time to time in such journals as the Morning Chronicle.

> [Moore's] light, agreeable, and polished style pierces through the body of the court, hits off the faded graces of an Adonis of fifty, weighs the vanity of fashion in tremulous scales, mimics

> the grimace of affectation and folly, shows up the littleness of the great, and spears a phalanx of statesmen with its glittering point as with a diamond.[12]

Most of these poems are connected with the subject of this thesis only in that they severely criticise the Regent's treachery to the Whigs and, subsequently, to the Catholic question, and in that they castigate various Tory cabinet members. In this group of poems, the Irish question is a minor issue, as seen in "The Insurrection of the Papers" and "The New Costume of the Ministers." The former portrays the Prince at breakfast and exhibits that ruler's peculiar juxtaposition of state affairs and trivial interests. In an attempt to rise and suffocate the Prince, the stack of papers is led by a weighty Catholic petition, "With grievances so full and heavy,/ It threatened worst of all the bevy." The latter poem is another picture of the Prince, this time amusing himself by dressing his Ministers--"As he <u>made</u> the puppets, why shouldn't he <u>dress</u> 'em?" The amount of regard given Catholic petitions by the court is seen in the prompt cutting up of a petition into tailors' measures.

"King Crack and his Idols" refers to the people's supposed discontent with the Tory cabinet ("find us some <u>decenter</u> Godheads than these are") and the Regent's refusal to bring in the Whigs because they "were chisell'd too fine, some had heads 'stead of noddles,/ In short, they were all <u>much</u> too godlike for Crack."

Outstanding in this series is the poem occasioned by the letter written by the Prince to the Duke of York on February 13, 1812, an explanation by the former that his "sense of duty to our

Royal father" was the reason he kept the Tories in. Moore's exquisite parody of this letter was first privately circulated among the Whigs of Holland House and then printed, to the great amusement of the public. This poem, dealing as it does with the Regent's personal and political faults, condemning the Prince's vanity and indolence, is one of the most effective Moore wrote. The Prince writes to "Freddy" after the decision (or lack thereof) on Irish affairs in Parliament:

> I meant before now to send you this Letter,
> But Yarmouth and I thought perhaps 'twould be better
> To wait till the Irish affairs were decided--
> (That is, till both Houses had prosed and divided,
> With all due appearance of thought and digestion)--
> For, though Hertford House had long settled the question,
> I thought it but decent, between me and you,
> That the two <u>other</u> Houses should settle it too.

As a dutiful son, he continues, he felt it incumbent on him to retain his father's choice of ministers, the "same chest of tools, without cleansing or patching." And what a shock it would be to the king, if he came to his senses and found his ministers better or wiser than before! "I <u>might</u> have done good," the Prince goes on, "I might have told Ireland I pitied her lot,/ Might have sooth'd her with hope--but you know I did not."

The dawning of a new era is announced and all things should be new; so, the Prince says, he has gained new friends in the Tories, who are very entertaining though destructive:

> It is true we are bankrupt in commerce and riches,
> But think how we find our Allies in new breeches!
> We've lost the warm hearts of the Irish, 'tis granted,
> But then we've got Java, an island much wanted.
>
> . . .
>
> . . . let England's affairs go to rack, if they will,
> We'll look after th' affairs of the Continent still.

And how sadly true, though amusing in Moore's words, is the Prince's renunciation of allegiances, interpreted as unfaithfulness to a lady,[13] to a party, and, as a result of the first two, to a religion:

> I am proud to declare I have no predilections,
> My heart is a sieve, where some scatter'd affections
> Are just danc'd about for a moment or two,
> And the <u>finer</u> they are, the more sure to run through.

He expresses a hope that a few of the men who surrounded him in his earlier public life will approve and join him, even after his betrayal of them:

> 'Twould please me if those, whom I've humbug'd so long
> With the notion (good men!) that I knew right from wrong,
> Would a few of them join me--mind, only a few--
> To let <u>too</u> much light in on me never would do.

But the brilliance of the Whigs will be enough subdued by the contrasting inability of the retained Tories. This ostentatious rejection of former personal friendships, supposedly in the public interest, destroys what little respect the Prince enjoyed in the minds of Moore and the Whigs.

More directly concerned with the oppression of Ireland is the Horatian ode "freely translated by Lord Eldon," in which that statesman is pictured walking fearlessly among drunken, riotous Papists. He is fearless because his advocacy of Church and State renders him safe from harm:

> The man who keeps a conscience pure,
> (If not his own, at least his Prince's)
> Through toil and danger walks secure,
> Looks big and black, and never winces.

The poem's footnotes are, in this case, as entertaining as the verses, one recalling that Eldon had first intended the translation to refer

to Spanish Papists, but,

> recollecting that it is our interest just now to be respectful to Spanish Catholics (though there is certainly no earthly reason for our being even commonly civil to Irish ones), he altered the passage as it stands at present.[14]

The reader's attention is directed to the ingenuity of a version of the ode that translates "wolf" as "Papist," "(seeing that Romulus was suckled by a wolf, that Rome was founded by Romulus, and that the Pope has always reigned at Rome)."[15] But the most delightful note remarks with mock seriousness on the aptness of the use of "Jack and Jill" to represent Church and State. "Jack," recounts the note,

> represents the State in this ingenious little Allegory.
>
> Jack fell down,
> And broke his Crown,
> And Jill came tumbling after."[16]

The "Dialogue Between a Catholic Delegate and His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland" is a brief epigrammatic comment on the Irish refusal to submit to the proposed Veto of Irish Catholic bishops by the king. The poem is brief enough to quote; the characters are the Duke of Cumberland and Edward Byrne, the head of the Delegates of the Irish Catholics:

> Said his Highness to Ned, with that grim face of his,
> "Why refuse us the Veto, dear Catholic Neddy?"
> "Because, Sir," said Ned, looking full in his phiz,
> "You're forbidding enough, in all conscience, already!

In "Wreaths for the Ministers," Moore calls on the Queen of Flowers to deck each minister with the appropriate garland. Castlereagh's wreath is particularly fitting, for it is made of "Wither'd Shamrocks, which have been/ Gilded o'er, to hide the green," for that Irishman

was considered little less than a traitor to his country because of his role in England's treatment of her.

Castlereagh was again mocked, this time with greater severity, in the "Occasional Address" for the opening of Parliament in 1812 ("the Opening of the New Theatre of St. Stephen"). Apologizing for the rotten materials of which the house is made, the speaker announces the same old cast of actors as before. Manager of the "theatre" is Castlereagh, who

> . . . in Ulster was nurst,
> And sung Erin go Brah for the galleries first,
> But, on finding Pitt-interest a much better thing,
> Chang'd his note of a sudden, to God save the King.

Moore's principal satirical concern, then, in the few years centering around 1812, was the castigation of the Prince Regent and the Tories for preventing the Whigs taking over in the cabinet. The Irish question was treated as one of the reasons for which he regretted the Prince's failure to act, but it was combined with other causes and had not yet assumed the prominent role in his satire it was later to have.

CHAPTER IV

The Fudge Family in Paris is the work that follows chronologically the group of poems dealt with in Chapter III. It seems expedient, however, to postpone an examination of this first appearance of the Fudges until a slightly later part of this thesis, and to group it with other poems that deal specifically and directly with the Irish problem.

In Fables for the Holy Alliance, which appeared in 1823, Moore presented one viewpoint from which the great European settlement could be seen. The Irish had played a large part in the victories over Napoleon and were justly proud, but the final ruin of the remarkable Frenchman was not regarded by them as an unmixed blessing. The French Revolution and the events that followed in its wake had roused all of European aristocracy to a consciousness of the common danger and a determination to render any future attempts at similar rebellion unsuccessful. England, while already the home of a more representative government than could be claimed for most of Europe, was at the time controlled by a Tory group that prided itself on conservative aristocratic principles soundly opposed to the concept of change and primly horrified at the egalitarian ideas that had come from revolutionary France. The stiff opposition of these men to any departures from the rigid system to which they were devoted, their firm resolve "to do as little as possible as well as they could,"[1] maintained in post-war England the old pre-war conditions of governmental control by landowners, and, most tragic for Ireland, unchanging Protestant ascendancy

in Moore's homeland. The one reason for which the Irish had blessed the French Revolution was the possibility that it might have resulted in the removal of their slavery, largely carried on in the name of religion; but with the birth of the Holy Alliance, result of the shameful excesses of the Revolution and the consequent strengthening of the opponents of liberty, the poet's nation was once again disappointed.

Moore's anger was aroused, and this time the rhymed witticisms that came from his pen were indicative of a wider outlook than had been obvious in his earlier attacks on the Tories. From treatments of personal foibles and more harmful political faults, he progressed to a deeper concern for the general welfare of mankind. The Fables used the occasion of the Holy Alliance, an agreement the basic purpose of which was to assure every allied nation of support in putting down possible revolution, to expose the absurdity of all forms of "legitimate" repression and included Ireland as an obvious and pitiful example of resulting misery.

The playful verses in this small collection, "alive to the points suitable for ridicule, rather than to the ebullition of spleen,"[2] mock the presumptious claims of kings and aristocrats and are evidence enough that Moore "believed too much in divine holiness to place any confidence in the assumed holiness of mortal men."[3]

One "fable" portrays the sacrifice of a bullock, representative of the people's rights, to a fly, symbol of the rights of the king. Another sets forth an incident in which the distribution

of mirrors (popular education) brings to the people a new awareness that they are not, after all, inferior to their rulers. The only remedy prescribed by common sense for the misuse of power takes the form of a state spanking administered to a spoiled "little Grand Lama," to the horror of the bishops "who of course had votes,/ By right of age and petticoats." (Fable VI, ll. 118-119)

The fifth fable, entitled "Church and State," is an illustration of Soame Jenyns's statement,

> The moment any religion becomes national, or established, its purity must certainly be lost, because it is then impossible to keep it unconnected with men's interests; and, if connected, it must inevitably be perverted by them.[4]

Recalling several examples of the misuse of religion when it was coupled with government--Catherine's prayer before she crushed the Poles, Alexander's dipping into holy water

> the spunge [sic],
> With which, at one imperial wipe,
> He would all human rights expunge,

Louis calling on God to witness the sending of soldiers to "cram instruction" down the throats of the Spanish--Moore writes that it is hard to avoid the feeling

> That when a Christian monarch brings
> Religion's name to gloss these things--
> Such blasphemy out-Benbows Benbow![5]

But Moore found more appropriate examples in his own homeland: to the question of the necessity of tithing and oppressing the Irish, the Irish Protestant churchmen maintain that such a policy is vital to their welfare so that they "may roll in wealth and bliss."

. . . then, if question'd, "Shall the brand
"Intolerance flings throughout that land,--
"Shall the fierce strife now taught to grow
"Betwixt her palaces and hovels,
"Be ever quench'd?"--From the same shovels
Look grandly forth, and answer "No."

"Alas!" says Moore, such men have no claim "To merciful religion's name."

These are the results of the union of Church and State, and other ills that make themselves felt are the two extremes of "Cant and Blasphemy," one seemingly as bad as the other:

We can no more tell which is worst,
Than erst could Egypt, when so rich
In various plagues, determine which
She thought most pestilent and vile,
Her frogs, like Benbow and Carlisle,
Croaking their native mud-notes loud,
Or her fat locusts, like a cloud
Of pluralists, obesely lowering,
At once benighting and devouring!

And, in order to prevent any misinterpretation by

. . . those sapient wits of the Reviews,
Who make us poor, dull authors say,
Not what we mean, but what they choose,

the poet states clearly that it is the established church of Irish oppression and ecclesiastical ranting toward which he aims his fable.

The fable itself concerns young Royalty's adventurous masquerade in the cloak of an old friar, Religion, and the subsequent laying of the blame for his pranks at the friar's door. The change wrought in the friar by the laced coat of Royalty is remarkable: he

Look'd big--his former habits spurn'd--
And storm'd about, as great men do:

Dealt much in pompous oaths and curses--
Said "d_mn you" often, or as bad--
Laid claim to other people's purses--
In short, grew either knave, or mad.

The offenses of the two culprits are brought up in the Court of Common Sense, which decides for their confinement until such time as their senses are restored and they are ready to promise that there will be no recurrence--Religion will not again lend his cloak, nor will Royalty feel the necessity of cracking heads when he is cracking jokes.

Fable VII makes use of a religious group introduced by Moore in Lalla Rookh, the fire-worshipping Persian Ghebers who, in their treatment by Moore, invariably suggest the Irish. The fable is titled "The Extinguishers" and sets forth the impossibility of preventing the spread of "light" by picturing the succumbing of the royal fire extinguishers (red-coated soldiers) to the inextinguishable revolutionary flames.

The story concerns a Lord of Persia who discovers that his neighbors are fire-worshippers and who, after futile attempts to put out their fire, hires

Some large Extinguishers, (a plan,
Much us'd . . . at Ispahan,
Vienna, Petersburgh--in short,
Wherever Light's forbid at court,)
Machines no Lord should be without,
Which would, at once, put promptly out
All kinds of fires,--from staring, stark
Volcanos to the tiniest spark;
Till all things slept as dull and dark,
As, in a great Lord's neighbourhood,
'Twas right and fitting all things should.

Even extinguishers are not wholly immune, however, and those hired by the Lord catch fire and, "Instead of dampers, served for fuel!"

Thus Moore effectively combines religious and revolutionary tendencies in the Ghebers' "heretic combustion" and fabulously shows the inclination of both to multiply when attempts are made to smother them.

The poem closes with the optimistic view that the wildly raging fire can be easily checked and controlled by those who are devoted to it, once the intolerant and oppressive "Lords of Persia" are ousted, and states its lesson:

> The moral hence my muse infers
> Is, that such Lords are simple elves,
> In trusting to Extinguishers,
> That are combustible themselves.

Fables for the Holy Alliance contains a significant group of Moore's poems and exhibits the poet's growing awareness of a situation of greater scope than one nation. He had begun to recognize that Ireland's plight was indicative of a political reality that was European rather than simply English. A more general concern for the oppressed of the world and an increased recognition of rulers who mistreated their followers in the name of religion or legitimacy were deepening his perception as a satirist and pointed to the less personal and more humane satire of his later years.

CHAPTER V

The occasion that prompted the series of verse letters known as The Fudge Family in Paris was Moore's first-hand observation in 1817 of a France to which the Bourbon dynasty had been restored. Intrigued by the "variety of aspects presented by this change" and the predominance of the ridiculous, the poet readily admitted that a satirist could hardly ask for better material "than the high places, in France, at that period, both lay and ecclesiastical, afforded." Lacking enough familiarity with French politics to feel that he could effectively satirize them, however, he turned for a subject to the "groups of ridiculous English who were at that time swarming in all directions throughout Paris."[1]

The group of epistles that resulted did much more than comment on the foolish English tourist in France. Interspersed among the frivolous fashion-minded letters of the young Biddy Fudge and delightedly obsessed views of her brother Bob on French cooking are witty and damning comments on the state of England and Ireland and on the absurdity of the Holy Alliance. Most of these views come from the pen of the elder Fudge, a renegade Irishman formerly doing "Secret Services" in Ireland under the direction of Castlereagh, with whom he corresponds.

Possessing a framework of dramatic character that Moore's other satirical works lack, the letters of the Fudges have a "comic inventiveness," a precise and effective coupling of accuracy of observation with excellence of form, which results in superb satire on national prejudices and "ponderous dogmatism."[2] They are irresistibly funny and still readable without an excess of effort,

partly because the giddy Biddy and the greedy Bob are members of a group that provides material for satire in any age and partly because the political references, the people and events with which Moore was concerned, are not as obscure as the subjects of much of his poetry. Certainly the group is "a happy blending of the political squib and the social burlesque."[3]

The first organized group of Moore's satirical poems to use the Irish question as a central issue, The Fudge Family in Paris is an appropriate work with which to begin an examination of the poetical satire in which the Irish poet narrowed his attack in order to concentrate on the plight of his homeland. In such a narrowing process, it was only natural that Castlereagh appear as the most important figure, for that Irishman's part in the affairs of Europe served to re-emphasize his constant part in the repression of Ireland.

The collection is prefaced with remarks by the "editor," "Thomas Brown, the Younger," who acknowledges the great services rendered by Fudge to "the mild ministry of my Lord Castlereagh." Associated with the informer Thomas Reynolds, through whom the provincial committee of the United Irishmen was captured, Fudge is reported as retired and enjoying the rewards of his labor, but recently recalled to service as supervisor for the training of "that Delatorian Cohort," Sidmouth's system of spies that contributed to the statesman's repressive measures.

Having thus made it clear that Fudge is to be associated with informers, Moore opens his collection with an epistle from

Fudge's daughter, Biddy, who relates, along with fashion news and the French attitude toward Louis XVIII, that her father has been approached by Castlereagh with the suggestion that Fudge's Irish services have fitted him especially well for the authorship of a work expounding the merits of the Holy Alliance and proving "to mankind that their rights are but folly,/ Their freedom a joke . . ." The letter closes with remarks about the young tutor who is traveling with the Fudges, and Biddy takes the opportunity to comment on the generosity of her father to employ a relative who is poor and, even more objectionable, a Catholic; Connor was "for charity made private tutor to Bob;--/ Entre nous, too, a Papist--how lib'ral of Pa!"

In the second letter, addressed to Castlereagh, Phil Fudge approaches closer the subject with which this thesis is concerned. Fudge's reflections on the rapidity of the changing of monarchs in France are followed by an observation that will please his addressee: "'tis the Kings alone turn out,/ The Ministers still keep their places."

The mock-compliments addressed to Castlereagh provide some of the funniest satire written by Moore, as in Fudge's imitation of the inconsistent metaphors in the minister's speeches,

> (. . . to use your Lordship's tropes)
> The level of obedience slopes
> Upward and downward, as the stream
> Of hydra faction kicks the beam!

and the marvelous power exhibited in the delivery of the speeches themselves:

> . . . marv'lling with what powers of breath
> Your Lordship, having speech'd to death
> Some hundreds of your fellow-men . . .

My book, Fudge goes on to say,

> Will prove that all the world, at present,
> Is in a state extremely pleasant;
> That Europe--thanks to royal swords
> And bay'nets, and the Duke commanding--
> Enjoys a peace which, like the Lord's
> Passeth all human understanding.
> . . .
> And that the Irish, grateful nation!
> Remember when by thee reign'd over,
> And bless thee for their flagellation.

In this way Moore takes the opportunity provided by the Holy Alliance to relate the oppression of Ireland with the determination of European monarchs in general to prevent revolutions or agitation by their people, regardless of the reasons for such disturbances. The poet pays particular attention to Castlereagh and his work in Ireland, because Irish politics by and large were concerned at that time with Catholic Emancipation, and Castlereagh was one of the leading figures in the prevention of that measure.

Fudge's next letter is addressed to his lawyer brother Tim, and evidently replies to a communication with regard to the wisdom of Fudge's connection with Castlereagh. The traveling Irishman's reply is a lengthy assertion that the Fudge family is now associated with one of the most prosperous groups in England, the informers who act as the Prince Regent's ears. This function of the "listeners" corresponds to the old tale of King Midas, so Castlereagh has expounded to Fudge, for that monarch,

> . . . though in fable typified as
> A royal Ass, by grace divine
> And right of ears, . . .
> Was yet no more, in fact historical,
> Than an exceeding well-bred tyrant;
> And these, his ears, but allegorical,
> Meaning Informers, kept at high rent.

The Irish traitor, Reynolds, is again mentioned as a familiar companion of Fudge and one of the members of a new club of spies, where

> His Lordship sometimes takes the chair,
> And gives us many a bright oration
> In praise of our sublime vocation.

A toast to the Regent's ears, with a hope that he may never wear "Old paltry wigs to keep them under!" is recalled by Fudge with great amusement at "This touch at our old friends, the Whigs."

After an observation that the club is daily increasing, after a condemnation of deserters who refuse to talk ("Give me the useful peaching Rat"), and after a stab at Castlereagh's singing lessons:

> My Lord, you know, 's an amateur--
> Takes every part with perfect ease,
> Though to the Base by nature suited,

Fudge closes with extensive praise of his own family. Hoping that the earlier part of his letter has destroyed any fears that he might fail in this "new, loyal course," he points out that his brother Jack is thriving as a doctor more concerned with fees than patients, that Tim, his addressee, is a marvel in court with his "glorious, lawyer-like delight/ In puzzling all that's clear and right."

In an age like this one, says Fudge, when such men as Sidmouth and Castlereagh have a voice in the rule of our nation, it is not unlikely that the Fudges themselves will soon be numbered in the highest ranks of English statesmen.

Letter IX again finds Fudge addressing Castlereagh, acknowledging the Viscount's inquiry about his health and French and

solemnly praising the statesman's own political treachery: "there's none can do/ Or say un-English things like you." Enclosed in the letter are excerpts from Fudge's journal which exhibit, among their humorous observations of post-Napoleonic France, bits of irreverence toward certain English statesmen. A lunatic's belief that he has been restored the wrong head after guillotining provokes a suggestion that the head of the chancellor of the exchequer, Vansittart, be placed on the shoulders of a well-known pickpocket in order to relieve it of the trouble of finding a "zig-zag way into one's pocket." An exchange of heads by the Prince Regent and a milliner would result in the usual shop business, with its shears, lace and ribbon, but if the Prince had the shopman's brains, probably "Ribbons would not be wasted so."

Fudge's dream that he has received Castlereagh's head has a strange result:

> . . . I grew completely addled--
> Forgot all other heads, od rot 'em!
> And slept, and dreamt that I was--Bottom.

The excerpt for August 31 is a more deadly attack on Sidmouth and Castlereagh, wrapped in the flattering comparison of those two statesmen with the "severe, blood-thirsty Roman," Tiberius.

Like the ancient tyrant, writes the Irishman, Sidmouth listened to spies, dealt in lies and perjury, "screen'd and hid/ His rogues from justice"; but certainly a much closer relationship can be seen between the Roman and Castlereagh, each of whom

> . . . lov'd his joke,
> On matters, too, where few can bear one;
> E.g. a man, cut up or broke
> Upon the wheel--a devilish fair one!

And the parallel can be clearly seen in an examination of the statesman's dealings with Ireland, where "Your Lordship beats Tiberius hollow."

The figure of Phelim Connor, the Irish Catholic tutor and cousin to the Fudges, is an interesting though puzzling one. Indignant at the plight of Ireland, he dramatically denounces English (and, indeed, all) tyrants. The passionate concern of the young man with the historical events of Ireland's oppression in his day, his representation of the embittered and romantically idealistic young Irishmen, produce some wonder as to the extent of Moore's seriousness in adding such a figure to the picture of the foolish Fudges. Seen by some critics as a writer of "heroic epistles" expressive of "bold rebellion," a "moving condemnation . . . of all those who attempt to justify the triumph of force instead of justice,"[4] the excitable young man writes in a style that Moore had earlier realized was inappropriate for his purposes, recalling the weighty and yawn-provoking measures of "Corruption."

Three of the twelve epistles in the little volume are attributed to Connor, and the rhetorical and idealistic lines that seemed to dash hurriedly, impulsively from his pen could not be more indicative of the denunciation of tyranny by the young who refuse to return and fight the evils against which they complain.

Connor's first letter (Letter IV), for example, begins with the lines,

> "Return!"--no, never, while the withering hand
> Of bigot power is on that hapless land;
> While, for the faith my fathers held to God,

. . .
I am proscrib'd, and . . .
. . .
On all I love, home, parents, friends, I trace
The mournful mark of bondage and disgrace!
No!--let them stay, who in their country's pangs
See nought but food for factions and harangues;
Who yearly kneel before their masters' doors,
And hawk their wrongs, as beggars do their sores:
. . .
Still hope and suffer, all who can!--but I,
Who durst not hope, and cannot bear, must fly.

The larger problem is, however, that Connor seems to find no country in which an oppressor is not present, no place free from the scourge of tyranny, and England is always acknowledged as "first, when tyrants strike, to aid the blow." Thus an excellent revenge of those oppressed by England is the general hatred of that country by the downtrodden of every nation, but Connor finds an even sweeter vengeance in the knowledge that from the Irish nation ruined by England came Castlereagh, the man who played the largest part in bringing the oppressor nation its widespread infamy:

'twas an Irish head, an Irish heart,
Made thee /England/ the fall'n and tarnish'd thing thou art;
. . .
as heaps of dead
Have slain their slayers by the pest they spread,
So hath our land breath'd out, thy fame to dim,
Thy strength to waste, and rot thee, soul and limb,
Her worst infections all condens'd in him!

Acknowledging that an age in which there will be no oppression is perhaps a "sweet, day-break dream of youth," the young man refuses to concede that an attitude of passive acceptance with regard to the whimsical rule of kings is wise, and breaks off with a promise that his next letter will contain thoughts that he admits,

"'twere wiser far/ To leave still hid and burning where they are."

His second epistle reviews the bright promise of liberation held out to European peoples by the rise of Napoleon, and the disappointment of their hopes "When he, who had defied all Europe's strength,/ Beneath his own weak rashness sunk at length," the acknowledgement that the cause of kings was, "for once, the cause of Right." But monarchy resorted to its old tactics of tyranny when Napoleon seemed out of the way, undaunted by the display of righteous indignation and revolution shown by his followers. The Holy League again set right the group of faithless rulers, and the cause of oppression now has a religious title.

The tutor's last letter reiterates this theme, bemoaning the fact that royalty refused to learn the great lesson taught by the French Revolution and continued to insist on its crushing injustice, after the final victory over the Napoleonic forces which had begun to take on the aspect of the world's last chance for liberty. I would have followed anyone, says Connor, false and despotic though he might have been, if I had been a Frenchman with such an opportunity to save my country. True, Napoleon had also trampled men's liberties, had raised their hopes, only to dash them down again. "All this I own," he says, "but still . . ." --and the letter breaks off, with an apology from the "editor" for omitting material that he felt was too "plain-spoken." The reader is left wondering why the tutor finds it impossible to be as brave and patriotic an Irishman as he feels he could have been as a Frenchman.

As Saintsbury has pointed out, if the tutor is intended as a satire on the hot-headed young Irishmen of Moore's day, full of passionate bluster and void of action, the portrait is excellent and perceptive. The intense youthfulness of Connor's violent denunciations of characteristics of mankind that "may not be nice things, but . . . are common to the whole human race," his vigorous rant against tyranny while he "enjoys the advantages of liberty . . . is in its perfection Irish alone."[5]

It is possible, of course, that Moore intended this portrait as serious criticism of England's treatment of Ireland, and of the monarchial power wrongly used in other nations, but such a view seems unlikely because of his own experience with this ineffective method of pompous rhetoric and his own knowledge of the facts and prejudices revolving around Napoleon. Such a straightforward attempt to strike at the issues, if taken seriously, would be disappointing and inappropriate.

The first Fudge series, then, castigates Castlereagh and links the plight of oppressed Ireland with the conditions of many European nations after the scare of the French Revolution had passed, while it also calls attention to the spying system that English statesmen promoted in Ireland.

The Fudges made their second memorable appearance in 1835, this time through letters supposedly written in England. The Fudge Family in England is largely concerned with intense satire against a well-known Irish Protestant clergyman, Mortimer O'Sullivan, who was especially scorned by Moore for his conversion

from Catholicism and who was active in defense of the Established Church against the Roman. O'Sullivan had written such works as "Captain Rock Detected," a reply to Moore's Memoirs of Captain Rock and an attempt to blame the landlords and land system in general for the miserable conditions of the Irish peasants and to vindicate the church.

This series, then, is more an attack on Protestant bigotry than was the first, and on the generally un-Christian lack of tolerance with which the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland regarded the Catholics.

The letters are not only written by the Fudges, but by people who have observed them and who comment upon them to other correspondents. The first letter, for example, is from Patrick Magan, Esq., to an Irish curate, and remarks on the change that has come over Biddy, who has been transformed by age from a flirt to a saint but who, having inherited her dead father's fortune, is still in search of a husband. The purport of the letter is that Magan wants to encourage his clerical friend to marry Biddy so that he may concern himself with saving himself financially rather than saving souls. Magan's real motive is that he is in love with Biddy's niece, Fanny, who provides much of the humor in the series by her absurd rhymes. Magan ends with an observation that the "Church tumblers" are to entertain the following week, foremost among whom is Murtagh O'Mulligan (Moore's alias for O'Sullivan), "a host of buffoni in . . . himself."

Magan's next letter deals with O'Mulligan, whose name has been changed from Murtagh to Mortimer, and whose "tales of parsonic woe," spoken to Britain's well-fed Church," draw attention to the unfavorable conditions the Protestant clergy must endure in Ireland, such as the abolition of the ten bishoprics and the refusal of congregations to pay tithes to parsons who do not remain in their parishes ("Though, with <u>such</u> parsons, one may doubt/ If 'tisn't money well laid out."). This "man of pathos" is to preach on

> Ireland's Case;
> Meaning thereby the case of <u>his</u> shop,--
> Of curate, vicar, rector, bishop,
> And all those other grades seraphic,
> That make men's souls their special traffic,
> Though caring not a pin which way
> Th' erratic souls go, so they <u>pay</u>.--
> . . .
> . . . so these reverend rigmaroles
> Pocket the money--starve the souls.

Another notable character in the series is Larry O'Branigan, an uneducated observer who writes in a heavy brogue. His letter to his wife first recalls the hardships that forced him to separate from her and to look for work in England, then tells about his notice of a placard bearing O'Mulligan's name and the hope that such an obvious countryman would help him. O'Mulligan's "awkward misfortune" of having turned Protestant mystifies O'Branigan at first, but the younger man readily claims to be Protestant himself when he seesit will help him get work with O'Mulligan.

Letter VI is Biddy's wondering remarks on the position of the Protestant church in parts of Ireland where there are

no Protestants. She begins with extravagant praise of O'Mulligan's preaching, which she feels is of a type that must espouse the world to the cause of the Irish Established Church by presenting the Church's history and position without the use of reason ("you know, dear, that's now of no use."). As to the existence of Protestant churches "In places where Protestants never yet were," Biddy point out O'Mulligan's argument,

> Who knows but young Protestants may be born there?
> And granting such accident, think, what a shame,
> If they didn't find Rector and Clerk when they came.

Miss Fudge has, too, what she considers a reasonable explanation for the tithing system:

> Just as if . . . this wasn't, in reality,
> A proof of the Church's extreme liberality,
> That, though hating Pop'ry in other respects,
> She to Catholic money in no way objects.

Perhaps the funniest defense of the Church is that in which Biddy, taking her cue from O'Mulligan, admits that the Established Church of Ireland is obviously contrary to nature and reason and should therefore be preserved as a miracle!

Among the diary extracts enclosed in the letter is one that remarks on the work of the India-Mission Society and calls attention to the fact that Catholics and heathens are lumped together by Missionaries as a group that is difficult to convert.

The letter from Bob Fudge to O'Mulligan soundly damns Ireland and stiffly condemns the entrance of dissenters and Catholics into the political picture in England. Fudge bewails the Tories' eclipse at present, but hopefully waits for another opportunity to shine.

In Letter IX, O'Branigan again comments to his wife about the antics of O'Mulligan, who has revealed himself to Larry in his true Protestant colors at last by raving against the Irish Catholics, by calling them murderers who are encouraged by their priests. Using as his authority a mysterious Doctor Dens, the Protestant clergyman hints at "deeds of darkness," lying, and robberies performed by Catholics, all of which are gleefully discussed by the Catholic priests, and Moore quotes in a footnote excerpts from actual speeches by clergymen that give evidence of the verisimilitude of Moore's portrait of O'Mulligan. The bigoted Protestant refused to give any arguments expounded by living men and would name only Doctor Dens as his authority, recounts Larry, "An ould gintleman dead a century or two,/ Who all about <u>us</u>, live Cath'lics, knew."

The last letter of the series is O'Mulligan's confidential revelation of his own torture by methods worse than those of the Inquisition--laughter and questioning. The clergyman discouragedly admits that all his efforts to bring back the days of Penal Laws ("Ah happy time! When wolves and priests/ Alike were hunted, as wild beasts") seem to be in vain, and that he has decided to resort to the worldly comforts (used as a solace by many of his church brothers) by marrying Biddy. He sadly bids farewell to the public life he has so ably led, with its

> platform fill'd with preachers--
> The pray'r given out, as grace, by speechers,
> Ere they cut up their fellow-creatures.

Aimed at the public chastisement of one Protestant clergyman who was a particular nuisance to intelligent men because of his unfounded accusations of the Catholics and the lack of actual authority on which his accusations and his attempts to defend the Established Church should have been based, the second Fudge series succeeds in pointing an accusing finger at the great body of Established churchmen in Ireland who were doing more harm than good to both Churches by their foolish and unfounded preaching.

CHAPTER VI

As pointed out earlier, between the years 1826 and 1835 Moore was constantly contributing squibs to both the Times and the Morning Chronicle, while he was at the same time bringing out some of his most serious prose work. Many of the poems that appeared during these years were collected in a second series of "Satirical and Humorous Poems," forming part of the 1841 edition of Moore's works, and the shameful conditions imposed on Ireland by her English rulers provided a number of subjects for these poems.

One of the most obvious and outrageous examples of mistreatment was the tithing system imposed by the Irish Established Church on Catholics. The gross injustice of forcing a people of one faith to support in luxury the clergy of another, who were far more plentiful than necessary for the small number of Protestant parishioners they were supposed to serve, was obvious. This absurd demand for support was enforced by the governing body of Ireland, under the control of English and Irish Protestants, and was certainly one of the most hated of the many ways in which the People of Erin were oppressed.

Moore, of course, recognized the unfairness of the tithing system and several times used it as a subject for his satirical poetry. "Hymn of Welcome After the Recess" (1826) takes in, among the many matters named as waiting for enactment by the reassembled Parliament, the Catholics' enforced payment for Anglican altar wine. Thus Henry Goulburn, the chief secretary

to Wellesley (then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) and a prominent opponent of Catholic Emancipation, is portrayed as defending

> . . . Church-Rates, worthy of a halter;
> Two pipes of port . . .
> . . . bought and paid
> By Papists for the Orange Altar!

In "Song of the Departing Spirit of Tithe," Moore mockingly bewails the dying system. Actually the church rates were simply changed into a fee charged to landlords who in turn raised their rents, but even this change seemed to remove one definite grievance of the people. The poem, written before the change was effected, emphasizes the injustice of the system:

> . . . Labour counts his sheaves,
> And, whatsoever himself believes,
> Must bow to th' Established Church belief
> That the tenth is always a Protestant sheaf;--
> . . .
> And even the Papists, thankless race,
> Who have had so much the easiest case--
> To pay for our sermons doom'd, 'tis true,
> But not condemn'd to hear them, too--
> . . .
> Even they object to let us pillage,
> By right divine, their tenth of tillage.

With an observation that the full powers of court, the "Law's whole apparatus," are brought into use just to get at "a few pre-doomed potatoes" or "the fraction of a pig," the poem ends with a mock-mournful "alas!" at the death of tithe. It is little wonder that so much of Moore's satire is directed against the system that raised the righteous anger of the Irish; the tithes that the poor Catholics were forced to pay were the proverbial "last straw" in a financial burden that they already had difficulty carrying.

In "Church Extension," a council of Established churchmen are represented as silversmiths or shrine-builders. The question of flocks is unimportant to these smiths, whose concern is the building, not the filling, of the shrines. To show its tolerance for all shrines, the guild of smiths does not object to the practice of their own religion by "low, established divines," provided they support the official edifices: "Only pay through the nose to the altars we build,/ You may pray through the nose to what altars you choose."

The tithing system was only one of many grievances the Catholics had against the Established Church, although it was perhaps the greatest. To the peasants who struggled for their next mouthful of food, the pomp and plenty in which the churchmen lived, the seeming indifference of these churchmen toward the poverty that their tithes helped to cause, the plentiful supply of Protestant clergy in areas where few or no Protestants lived, the political concerns in which the clergy were absorbed in their attempts to rise higher in the church, were sources of constant irritation and examples of flagrant injustice.

The Anglican Church, with its selfish clergymen conscious more of the amount of money they can take in than of their congregations, is attacked by the poet in "Resolutions Passed at a Late Meeting of Reverends and Right Reverends," written in 1834. First is a resolution to defend every bit of "ev'ry Creed and ev'ry Article," and to scorn anyone who cannot accept every item. The clergy are not unwilling to accept money that comes

from those who are not of their faith; they are "Indifferent whence the money reaches/ The pockets of our revered breeches." The foolishness of some of the old charitable customs of bishops is pointed out:

> when we, Spiritual Lords
> Whose income just enough affords
> To keep our Spiritual Lordships cozy,
> Are told, by Antiquarians prosy,
> How ancient Bishops cut up theirs,
> Giving the poor the largest shares--
> Our answer is, in one short word,
> We think it pious, but absurd.
> Those good men made the world their debtor,
> But we, the Church reform'd, know better;
> And, taking all that all can pay,
> Balance th' account the other way.

In the same vein is the parody of Sir Charles Williams's ode, "Come, Cloe, and Give Me Sweet Kisses." Moore's poem is entitled "The Numbering of the Clergy" and consists of an extensive request for many more rich livings than the clergy already possess, for there cannot be too many. The clergy are portrayed as cormorants and as

> rooks that, in clerical dresses,
> Flock round when the harvest's in play,
> And, not minding the farmer's distresses,
> Like devils in grain peck away.

Even the "locusts in heaven,/ On their way to some titheable shore," cannot exceed the number of clergymen considered necessary, even in areas where no Protestants live. This poem was at first refused publication by the Morning Chronicle because of its mocking attitude toward the Established Church. It was published in The Examiner in 1833.[1]

In "A Dream of Hindostan," the poem's narrator relates a dream in which he finds himself in Hindostan where only rice is religiously acceptable as food. Amazed at the great number of butcher shops in a city where meat is forbidden, and impressed by the healthy and lazy aspect of the butchers, the dreamer asks one of them how his expenses are paid and discovers that the rice-consumers support him. The butcher's explanation is a classic statement of the absurdity of the tithing system then in effect in Ireland:

> "The rogues may munch their Paddy crop,
> "But the rogues must still support our shop.
> "And, depend upon it, the way to treat
> "Heretical stomachs that thus dissent,
> "Is to burden all that won't eat meat,
> "With a costly MEAT ESTABLISHMENT."

"The Dance of the Bishops; or the Episcopal Quadrille" does little more than comment on the frivolity of the Protestant clergy and prophesy the eventual disappearance of more livings. The poem was occasioned by the abolition in 1833 of ten Irish bishoprics, an important step in dealing with Catholic grievances. Another dream poem, "The Dance of the Bishops," portrays an "Episcopal Hop" coupling the dignitaries of the English and Irish Church Establishments. The general gaiety of the scene is somewhat reduced by a gloomy shadow that comes and goes, leaving ten less Irish bishops than before. In the dream the darkness comes around the remaining churchmen time and again, reducing them until only two are left. The interpretation of the dream is left to the reader, but it is obvious that Moore meant it as an omen of more Church reform to come.

In 1834, "Les Hommes Automates" suggested that "artificial men" be substituted in "Irish rectories,/ Which soon will have but scant refectories." These artificial men, made of wood and leather, would have no need for food and could fill the post quite as well as most Irish parsons do. In some parts of the country, no real duties need be performed, and, "In parts, not much by Protestants haunted,/ A figure to look at's all that's wanted--" Moore's opinion of the uselessness of many of the Irish Protestant parishes, and the small amount of good done by such clergymen, is apparent in the poem.

"Reflections" is an answer to an article in the Quarterly Review supporting the policies of the Established Church in Ireland. Sarcastically agreeing at first that the "Pats" are foolish to say they have too much Church (of Church, as of love, "even too much . . . is not quite enough"), the poem points out that things have gone on in the same way for a long time and "a good stanch Conservative's system is such/ That he'd back even Beelzebub's long-founded sway." The policy should be left as it is, even intensified:

> Church, Church, in all shapes, into Erin let's pour;
> And the more she rejecteth our med'cine so kind,
> The more let's repeat it--"Black dose, as before."
> Let Coercion, that peace-maker, go hand in hand
> With demure ey'd Conversion, fit sister and brother;
> And, covering with prisons and churches the land,
> All that won't go to one, we'll put into the other.

The mock agreement serves to emphasize the cruelty and irrationality of the Established Church's determination to maintain its sway at this time in Ireland.

Another article in the Quarterly Review entitled "Romanism in Ireland" provoked "Intended Tribute," in which, with mock seriousness, Moore remarks on a planned meeting of those whose opinions on Church and State are stiffly founded on times long gone, "admiring them for their rust alone." Their leader should be an old Egyptian mummy, continues the poet. The writer of the article has raved about "Irish Thuggists" and the way the Catholics "all go murd'ring, for fun," but, if asked why the Protestant clergy remain safe and fat, why the rioting of the Irish seems to get worse for their presence, the article's author can only refer one to the "archives of the Propaganda." The poem is an excellent example of Moore's statements of contempt for those who refused to face the political realities of their day, but felt that past custom and authority were sufficient justification for any policy.

Outstanding among the Irish poet's satirical treatments of Protestant clergymen is "Ode to a Hat" (1826), in which he gives mock-rhapsodic tribute to the clergy's "Delta," a "reverend Hat" that is "sublime 'mid all/ The minor felts that round thee grovel."

The features of the hat call to mind various aspects of the churchman's calling: the shape recalls stalls and mitres, the brim brings to mind the very essence of the Church itself:

> Not flapp'd, like dull Weslayans', down,
> But looking (as all churchmen's should)
> Devoutly upward--tow'rds the crown.
> Gods! When I gaze upon that brim,
> So redolent of Church all over,
> What swarms of Tithes, in vision dim,--
> . . . around it hover!

Asking to which of the "well-fed throng/ of Zion" (the Church Establishment of Ireland) the hat belongs, Moore proceeds to refer briefly

to several of the Protestant clergy in an attempt to discover the answer. The poem ends with a hope that the hat may prosper and continue to bow and scrape until it leads its possessor to a bishopric. Few poems could deal more directly yet more humorously with the selfish and court-conscious Irish Protestant clergy.

Great fun is poked at the Established Church in the poem "St. Jerome on Earth," in which Moore presents for examination the astonishment with which a saint of the early Church would regard the pomp and splendor, the several and usually-neglected livings of an Anglican bishop. Moore portrays the lace-clad lackey who opens the Archbishop of Canterbury's door and slams it again when the saint hesitates, and the saint's ignorance of the bishop's connection with Parliament:

> "Th' Archbishop is gone to the House of Lords,"
> "To the House of the Lord, you mean, my son,
> "For, in my time, at least, there was but one;
> "Unless such many-fold priests as these
> "Seek, ev'n in their LORD, pluralities!"

It was this wealthy and politically-minded clerical body, as was often pointed out, that so often helped to put the Irish Catholics in a state of poverty and starvation.

The curse of "Wo! Wo! Wo!" by the Bishop of Chester to anyone who dared interfere with the conversion of Irish Catholics to Protestantism during the New Reformation in Ireland provoked the satire, "Wo! Wo!" Those who are attempting to bring Catholics into the Established Church have a "whip in one hand, and . . . Bible in 'tother," says the poet, and the Irishmen have little choice between rebellion and Reformation, between bullets and Bibles.

The formula for transforming a Catholic into a Protestant is simple, relates Moore:

> "Catch your Catholic first--soak him well in poteen*--
> "Add salary sauce, and the thing is complete.
> "You may serve up your Protestant, smoking and clean."

Moore's sad observation was, of course, that many Irish Catholics succumbed to Protestantism, if not for actual pay, at least because they thereby gained civil and political rights and the freedom to work and earn without fear of discrimination or persecution. Proof of the motives in many of these "conversions" is provided by the fact that many young Irishmen turned Protestant during their university days in order to qualify for awards and scholarships.[2]

An attack on the Brunswick Clubs, composed of Protestants who were determined to prevent Papists from regaining political equality, is seen in "To the Reverend _____," a poem of 1828 in which the Brunswick members are regarded as cooks who take pride in their remarkable methods of torturing Catholics in much the same way that certain animals are slowly killed and cooked to provide unusual delicacies. In comparing the persecution of the Irish with the slow, painful death of a goose roasting before a fire, Moore exclaims:

> What an emblem this bird, for the epicure's use meant,
> Presents of the mode in which Ireland has been
> Made a tid-bit for yours and your brethren's amusement.

The Brunswick Clubs were again treated with contempt in "New-Fashioned Echoes," a poem that identified Brunswickers with

---

* Whiskey.

a judge who, upon hearing an ass outside the courtroom in which he was delivering a charge, asked what the noise was and was told it was an echo. Similarly, the poet writes, the Brunswickers answer each other, and there is no sound "like that happy rebound/ When one blockhead echoes another."

"Incantation" pictures three Brunswick members chanting over a boiling cauldron to produce an effective charm reminiscent of the witches' chant in Macbeth. Exemplary of the ingredients are

> Bigot spite, that long hath grown,
> Like a toad within a stone, . . .
> . . .
> Dreams of murders and of arsons,
> Hatch'd in heads of Irish parsons,

and, when added to the senseless talk of some statesmen and the useless scribble of others, plus the necessary "Orange juice," the charm is "firm and good," ready for use against the poor Catholics.

Moore's scorn for the Brunswickers is again emphasized in "How to Make a Good Politician," for, says he, all the advice one needs is that one should say and do the exact opposite of whatever a Brunswicker does. It follows from the very nature of Brunswickers, the poem goes on, that they can never be good or wise, so a good politician will do their reverse: "Be all that a Brunswicker is not, nor could be,/ And then--you'll be all that an honest man should be."

Many Irish Protestants had joined societies of Orangemen, which were determined that the Catholic majority would not get the vote and override their wishes. The ridiculous presumption of such a minority in setting itself up as the final authority for the

rule of a nation, with a complete denial of representation to the great majority, was satirized by Moore in 1826, when he wrote "The Petition of the Orangemen of Ireland." This petition, addressed to the people of England, sets out to show the "sad" condition of the Protestants who "hold it the basest of all base transactions/ To keep us from murd'ring the other six parts." After all, the Orangemen claim, there's nothing less true than talk about "laws made for the good of the many"; we all know that "all human laws (and our own, more than any)/ Are made by and for a particular few."

The petition further states the pleasure of the Orangemen as they watch England battle over church issues now long dead, as whether St. Dunstan and St. Dominic ever really punished the devil, "And many such points, from which Southey can draw/ Conclusions most apt for our hating each other." Ireland has long been divided between those who believe in the two kinds of Substantiation, "Trans" and "Con," and the petitioners freely admit that it is "in right/ Of the said monosyllable" that they have stolen from and persecuted the Catholic "sticklers for Trans."

The petition closes with a reminder that England has only to say the word and Irish Protestants "have got our red coats and our carabines ready." The expense for such a diversion will be met, of course, by John Bull, but he is reassured that it will all find its way into Orangemen's pockets. Again Moore has castigated the refusal of England to allow the majority of Irishmen to rule themselves.

Moore exhibits his mocking attitude toward the Protestant Tory clique in Ireland in "Some Account of the Late Dinner to Dan," in which he tells of the horror that spread among the party members when they discovered that Daniel O'Connell, the Catholic agitator, had dined "at the Viceroy's table." The ominous nature of such an event seems to be clear:

> Deans, rectors, curates, all agreed,
> If Dan was allow'd at the Castle to feed,
> 'Twas clearly all up with the Protestant creed!"

Comparing the reaction of the established Tories to that of a group of Dublin actors in Don Giovanni who discovered a real devil among them, the poem continues:

> It shows what a nest of Popish sinners
> That city must be, where the devil and Dan
> May thus drop in, at quadrilles and dinners.

In addition to laughing at the snobbish intolerance of the Tories, Moore takes great pleasure in poking fun at the politician who, he reports, developed indigestion and was forced to have his priest absolve him for eating too much "at a heretic dinner." Unable to resist a pun, the poet ends with a jab at the antagonism between Catholics and Orangemen by suggesting that perhaps the Tory "confectioner . . ./ Had poison'd the Papist with orangeade." "Dinner to Dan," then, is a satirical treatment of both the prejudiced and snobbish clique of Tories in Ireland, their disgust at the Irishman's having dinner with the Viceroy, and the dislike that the poet himself had for O'Connell.

Moore's contempt for the politician is again revealed in "News for Country Cousins," a poem which reflects several political

situations in the world of 1826. With reference to Cochrane's command of the Greek navy in its fight for the liberation of Greece, that famous admiral is portrayed as the writer of an epistle offering O'Connell the Grand Mastership of the Knights of St. John (which will be changed, of course, to the Knights of St. Dan), "Or, if Dan should prefer (as a still better whim)/ Being made the Colossus, 'tis all one to him." The poet's jabs at the Irish politician demonstrate his belief that O'Connell was always eager and willing to stand in the limelight and acknowledge recognition for what Moore considered bad methods of agitation.

O'Connell was not the only person who drew fire on himself from Moore. The poet castigated statesmen who failed to act on the petitions of Ireland and writers who wrote, without sufficient evidence, of the conspiracy supposedly at work among the Papists.

"The Three Doctors," written in 1826, particularly attacked Robert Southey for his prejudiced works against Catholicism. As an example of the laureate's foolish identification of Catholics with anyone opposed to the government, Moore quotes in a footnote a passage from Southey's Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae:

> They have for their immediate allies every faction that is banded against the State, every demagogue, every irreligious and seditious journalist, every open and every insidious enemy to Monarchy and to Christianity.[3]

The poem's ridicule of Southey's dull writing, which "gloriously sleeps/ With 'No Popery' scribes, on the stalls," is an outstanding rebuttal of some of the completely unfounded attacks on Papists.

The futile attempts of Lord Anglesey to reconcile the incompatible demands of both England and Ireland are satirized

in "Thoughts on the Present Government of Ireland," dated 1828. That statesman's determination to be "neither Protestant nor Catholic," his feeling that patience and time were the most necessary factors in any settlement of Ireland's claims, prompted the impatient Irish poet to portray him as an equestrian with one foot on the back of each of the horses Papist and Protestant. Peel acts as ringmaster, with whip in hand "to cheer the doubtful hacks." This would be a fine arrangement, continues Moore

> . . . if neither steed would bolt or start;--
> If Protestant's old restive tricks were gone,
> And Papist's winkers could be still kept on!

The slightest mishap, however, easily sends this pair flying in opposite directions, and all of Anglesey's efforts to manage both are in vain:

> If once my Lord his graceful balance loses,
> Or fails to keep each foot where each horse chooses;
> If Peel but gives one extra touch of whip
> To Papist's tail or Protestant's ear-tip--
> That instant ends their glorious horsemanship!
> Off bolt the sever'd steeds, for mischief free,
> And down, between them, plumps Lord Anglesea!

Lord Stanley, the chief secretary to Ireland for several years beginning in 1830, was responsible for several measures considered unjust by the Irish. Not only did he oppose the repeal of the Union, for which O'Connell and his followers began agitation as soon as Catholic Emancipation was effected in 1829, but he had a hand in strengthening the tithing system and in passing the strong Peace Preservation Act of 1833, one in a long series of acts to render public agitation lawless in Ireland. This statesman was

subjected to a satirical attack in the poem, "Thoughts on Mischief," supposedly written by the chief secretary himself.

Recalling several historical figures whose custom it was to "raise the devil," the poet neatly fits Stanley into the tradition and places him on the back of the goddess Mischief's broom, from which position he directs her to do her work in "Paddy-land," where his

> . . . new, brisk method of tormenting--
> A way, they call the Stanley fashion,
> . . . puts all Ireland in a passion.

His method is just the right blending of "injury and insult," bearing the easily recognizable Stanley stamp:

> Ireland, we're told, means land of Ire;
> And why she's so, none need inquire,
> Who sees her millions, martial, manly,
> Spat upon thus by me, Lord Stanley.

Nothing gives him more pleasure than the rich, "swelter'd venom" got

> By stirring Ireland's "charmed pot;"
> And, thanks to practice on that land,
> I stir it with a master-hand.

Because of his administration the rulers of the country will again be clergymen and Captain Rock, the ever-present leader of Irish insurrections. There is no doubt that Moore watched with sadness and indignation the constant alienation of the Irish from their English masters by the actions of such men as Stanley.

The "Epistle from Captain Rock to Lord Lyndhurst" satirizes one of the statesmen who generally opposed reform and particularly disliked the thought of giving Ireland her rightful place in the political arena. The letter consists largely of praise for the

lord, because he has played a part in the continued prosperity of the Rocks, who thrive only on rebellion. Rock calls attention to the purpose he and Lyndhurst seem to have in common:

> Namely, never to let the old regions of riot,
> Where Rock hath long reign'd, have one instant of quiet,
> But keep Ireland still in that liquid we've taught her
> To love more than meat, drink, or clothing--hot water.

Rock's fears that his fun is over, except when a "tithe-hunting parson" leaves his Bible at home and uses cartridges to punctuate his "pious texts," have been alleviated by the attitudes and actions of such men as Lyndhurst, who are sure to see that conditions productive of rebellion are maintained. The coupling of a rabidly anti-Catholic Tory with the fictitious character who can live only on revolution is an effective manner of attacking the insistence of the English on the unjust treatment of Ireland.

"Captain Rock in London" is addressed to the captain's "subordinate officer or lieutenant," Terry Alt, and is sent from what Rock designates his headquarters, i.e., among the English peers, where the mischief underlying Irish rebellions begins. Praise for the Tories, as the party who keep the Rocks from dying, is combined with more admiration for Lyndhurst, who helps Rock "look after Ireland's affairs." That statesman can be counted on to aid us, continues the captain, and he has just made a speech that exemplifies the immense amount of provocation he provides in our cause. Rock asks Terry to spread the essence of Lyndhurst's speech, which consists of the condemnation of the Irish as "aliens in language, in creed, and in blood." And, though the captain

himself admits that "false be the cry, and . . . sense must abhor it," it is an excellent weapon to use in his determined spread of discontent and indignation.

"The Canonization of Saint Butterworth" satirizes Joseph Butterworth, one of the most vehement opponents of Catholic petitions for funds to educate as the Catholics wished. Calling to witness the canonization the spirits of other "saints," the fanatic Joanna Southcott who "sealed" her followers with Seals of the Lord's protection and claimed to be about to give birth to the second Christ, and Mother Anne Lee, leader of the American Society of Shakers, Moore remarks that the heathen made wooden gods, and, since saints seem to be made out of anything that's handy, old women and Butterworth are perfectly sensible candidates.

The same Butterworth who spoke repeatedly against Catholic claims in Parliament in pictured by Moore as forcing the equivalent of horse-pills down the throats of the Irish:

> . . . with what vigour he crams
> Down Erin's idolatrous throats, till they crack again,
> Bolus on bolus, good man!--and then damns
> Both their stomachs and souls, if they dare cast them back again.

The most startling of religious sects are to be assembled for the ceremony because of Butterworth's unusual work along their lines:

> Canonize him!--by Judas, we <u>will</u> canonize him;
> For Cant is his hobby, and twaddling his bliss;
> And, though wise men may pity and wits may despise him,
> He'll make but the better <u>shop</u>-saint for all this.

This poem, severely critical of a minor figure opposed to granting Catholic rights, shows the Irish poet's disgust with all who unreasonably refused to acknowledge that his country's claims were just.

Not only did Moore rebuke individuals for their failure to render Ireland her rightful privileges, but he several times satirized the general indifference of Parliament itself to the seriousness and danger of the peasants' sad plight. In "Hymn of Welcome After the Recess," for example, Moore calls attention to Sir Robert Horton's proposal that the Irish emigrate to Canada,

> Not so much rendering Ireland quiet,
> As grafting on the dull Canadians
> That liveliest of earth's contagions,
> The bull-pock of Hibernian riot!

These events are indicative, Moore seems to say, of the way the English Parliament plays with the lives and money of the Irish instead of seriously dealing with their problems.

In "Corn and Catholics" the poet remarks on the seemingly hopeless but perpetual state of attempts to effect some legislation with regard to the Corn Laws and to the question of Catholic rights. These two topics mix with meals and sleep, spoil tempers and digestion, while Ministers "Plague us with both, and settle neither." So allied have the two subjects become that they are confused in the mind:

> So addled in my cranium meet
> Popery and Corn, that oft I doubt,
> Whether, this year, 'twas bonded Wheat,
> Or bonded Papists, they let out.
> . . .
> Oft, too, the Corn grows animate,
> And a whole crop of heads appears,
> Like Papists, bearding Church and State--
> Themselves, together, by the ears!

The poem closes with a wish for transportation to some land where Corn and Papists are never mentioned.

The seriousness of the threat posed by the proposal of Catholic Emancipation, at least in the eyes of the English government, is beautifully pointed out by the poet in a poem of 1827, "Hat versus Wig," in which Eldon's hat and wig argue as to which best serves the nation. After calling attention to his role in the Senate and Court, in all important public matters, the proud wig is finally squelched by the hat's recollection of his own part in preserving the lord's life on the damp night of York's burial by providing him the means of keeping his feet dry. Thus the hat has saved "this hope/ Of Church and state," one of the statesmen "pledged to the hilt to the maintenance of Protestant supremacy in all its rigorous exclusiveness,"[4] and preserved his country from a terrible fate:

> "At sea, there's but a plank, they say,
> "'Twixt seamen and annihilation;
> "A Hat, that awful moment, lay
> "'Twixt England and Emancipation!"

The absurdity of the refusal of England to restore to Ireland the latter's long-lost rights is emphasized in the poem, "Speech on the Umbrella Question," supposedly a "pendant" to Lord Eldon's speech on the Catholic question.

The "speech" was the result of an incident in which the doorkeepers of the House of Lords refused to restore to a gentleman named Bell the umbrella that he had left by mistake. Eldon, accused of a leading part in the retention of the umbrella, maintains that such a trick is

> The last into which, at my age, I could fall-
> . . . leading this grave House of Peers by their noses,
> Wherever I choose, princes, bishops, and all.

The Lords would be fools, no doubt, to "mind such a twaddling old Trojan as I am," but, he gently suggests with a sly hint at the dead rights of Irish Catholics, surely "once having taken men's rights, or umbrellas,/ We ne'er should consent to restore them again." After all, what will then prevent the possessor of the restored property from using it for an attack on the Lords themselves, "And then--where would your Protestant periwigs be?"

Among the numerous incidents during the years the English were determinedly denying the Catholics their political rights, few roused Moore's Irish blood more than the order to send five million rounds of musket-ball cartridge to the Irish garrisons in anticipation of uprisings after the defeat of the Catholic question in the House of Commons. This event of 1827 the poet bitterly attacked in his "Pastoral Ballad, by John Bull," in which the personified English nation is portrayed as giver of the only remedy that he feels "Can remove thy complaints."

The Irish nation does not seem to understand that England knows what is best for her:

> She ask'd me for Freedom and Right,
> But ill she her wants understood;--
> Ball cartridges, morning and night,
> Is a dose that will do her more good.

Just as men find ways to show their love by presenting their wives with halters or poison, so the Englishman feels he will

> . . . quiet thee, mate of my bed!
> And, as poison and hemp are too slow,
> Do thy business with bullets instead.

The condition of the Irish, pleasant as it is, needs only this gift to make it supremely happy:

. . . blest as thou art in thy lot,
Nothing's wanted to make it more pleasant
But being hang'd, tortur'd, and shot,
Much oft'ner than thou art at present.

What a terrible reply the English have given, Moore seems to say, to the oft-repeated pleas for justice and political equality.

In 1828 the political privilege for which the Irish had so long been agitating was dragged out again, and, so hopeless seemed its chances for favorable action, Moore bitterly wrote "Stanzas in Anticipation of Defeat." The poem points out that some "abler defenders of wrong" should be found to refuse the Catholics' repeated request, and that these defenders should be more appropriate for such a senseless task than the members of Parliament, who should now "be content with success, and pretend not to sense." If the words of Truth herself fail, then let mutes kill her so that she will not be talked to death; use legions of squires for the attack, as the Roman Fabius used dumb animals against his foes; bring out the "Bedchamber lordlings, . . . salaried slaves," the "small fry" who are the "Treasury's creatures," the mindless "toadies" who would follow any king. Combine these with the most renowned names of the age and then Paddy Holmes will present the "quantum desired" of Irish souls for the usual oppression:

And thus let your farce be enacted hereafter--
Thus honestly persecute, outlaw, and chain;
But spare even your victims the torture of laughter,
And never, oh never, try <u>reasoning</u> again!

The need for Catholic Emancipation was becoming more intensely felt by Irishmen, Moore among them, and a rejection in June, 1828, of a motion in favor of Catholic Emancipation (one

of many motions and rejections) was the occasion for the satire "'If' and 'Perhaps.'" The poem points out that, if the Irish mutely bow to the will of England and humbly accept all the persecution she may send, perhaps the ruler nation, "'At some far distant day,/ May <u>think</u> (tender tyrant!) of loosening his chains.'" But with the sarcasm comes a warning of deadly seriousness:

> "<u>If</u> the slave will be silent!"--vain Soldier, beware--
> There <u>is</u> a dead silence the wrong'd may assume,
> When the feeling, sent back from the lips in despair,
> But clings round the heart with a deadlier gloom;--
>
> When the blush, that long burn'd on the suppliant's cheek,
> Gives place to th' avenger's pale, resolute hue;
> And the tongue, that once threaten'd, disdaining to <u>speak</u>,
> Consigns to the arm the high office--to <u>do</u>.

Only rebellion, says the poet, can come from undeserved and extensive persecution of a people who want their rights.

The Emancipation question, so long a subject for public discussion and conjecture, led to the publication by various peers of "letters" expressing opinions and presenting arguments for or against such a move. Moore satirized these epistles, which had little effect on the actual passing or rejection of any bill designed to extend political rights to the Catholics, in his "ballad," "Write On, Write On." Pointing out Newcastle's "Letter to Lord Kenyon on the Catholic Emancipation Question" as a good example, the poem indicates the stupidity of any supposition that the goose-quill of a nobleman can produce good that the agitation of a whole nation of Irishmen and a supposedly representative Parliament have been unable to effect.

A debate in Parliament about the granting of funds to Maynooth College in Ireland, where Catholic priests were educated, brought out in 1834 some of the most absurd of the English attitudes toward Papists, satirized in "A Corrected Report of some Late Speeches." Protests against the maintenance and education of the Catholic clergy because they had no family except the Church; the intolerant observation that Dissenters might be aided by the Established Church, but not Catholics--these are examples of the ridiculous assertions given for a refusal to grant funds for education to the college. One member feels that the request should be refused because the Catholics are known to be

> much inclin'd
> To extirpate all of Protestant kind,
> Which he couldn't, in truth, so much condemn,
> Having rather a wish to extirpate them;
> That is,--to guard against mistake,--
> To extirpate them for their doctrine's sake;
> A distinction Churchmen always make,--
> Though sometimes roasting heretics whole,
> They but cook the body for sake of the soul.

The final and funniest reason is the question,

> If we grant such toleration,
> Pray, what's the use of our Reformation?
> What is the use of our Church and State?
> Our Bishops, Articles, Tithe, and Rate?

Moore laughingly turns the Protestant's words:

> And, still as he yell'd out, "what's the use?"
> Old echoes, from their cells recluse
> Where they'd for centuries slept, broke loose,
> Yelling responsive, "What's the use?"

The protests raised by the Protestants against granting money to Maynooth are presented in the poem with extraordinary fidelity to their actual statement in Parliament; for example, one member opposed

the bill on the ground of the priests' attempts to "overturn the Protestant Church in Ireland" and especially called attention to the celibacy of the Catholic clergy, who could devote their entire energies to their Church, "by them considered as father and sister and brother and mother."[5] He goes on to say that there is a great gulf between Protestant and Catholic which cannot be crossed, although Dissenters can get across it well enough.

The gentle reminder of Lord Clements that the nation for which the grant was proposed was almost entirely Catholic and that the grant was therefore reasonable, was shortly followed by a comment from Cutlar Fergusson that opposition to the bill was surprising in view of the fact that the "people of Ireland so largely contributed to the maintenance of an Established Church from which they derived no advantage."[6] These more reasonable statements were ignored, however, and James Johnstone maintained that, as a Protestant, he could not favor the use of public money "for the maintenance of that which he believed to be a false religion,"[7] and Lord Mandeville asserted that such a grant would amount to the support of heresy. Lefroy chimed in with a declaration that his conscience would not let him support "those who, professing one religion, voted funds for the propagation of another, whose doctrines they believed to be erroneous."[8] Most of the reasons given for opposition to the grant (which, by the way, was an annual one and on the list of customary grants) were little more than expressions of bigotry and prejudice, and the poet had little changing to do to make such protests look ridiculous.

As an ally of the Whigs, Moore levelled a heavy attack at the opponent party in the poem, "Tory Pledges," in which he draws attention to the evident determination of that party to prevent reform, to take the side of the oppressors in a controversy with those who are persecuted, to support whichever force in a dispute seems stronger, whether Might or Right. The satire is particularly pointed when the Tory is making pledges in connection with England's treatment of Ireland:

> For instance, in all Tithe discussions,
> I'm <u>for</u> the Reverend encroachers:--
> . . .
> I pledge myself to be no more
> With Ireland's wrongs bepros'd or shamm'd,--
> I vote her grievances a <u>bore</u>,
> So she may suffer, and be d____d.
>
> Or if she kick, let it console us,
> We still have plenty of red coats,
> To cram the Church, that general bolus,
> Down any giv'n number of throats.

When a widow took her dead husband's place as gaoler of an Irish prison, another subject for satire was born and came to light in "Musings." The event was used to mock the Tory claim that strict rule and harsh force must be employed to subdue the wild Irish, for here is an example of a woman who supervises criminals in Erin:

> Thus, while your blust'rers of the Tory school
> Find Ireland's sanest sons so hard to rule,
> One meek-ey'd matron, in Whig doctrines nurst,
> Is all that's asked to curb the maddest, worst!

Moore realized fully that the Tories were not alone in refusing to remedy the troubles of the Irish. In a poem of 1833, "The Consultation," provoked by the Whigs' Irish Coercion

Bill, he pictures Dr. Whig and Dr. Tory in a discussion of the most effective treatment for their "wild Irish patient." Whig's statement that he had promised anodynes is met by Tory's contemptuous sniff and a suggestion that to bind and gag the patient will make him "tranquil enough." Whig's protest that such a treatment is

> quite in <u>your</u> line,
> But unluckily not much, till lately, in <u>mine</u>.
> 'Tis so painful--

Tory answers with a reminder that, just as eels were born to be cooked alive, "'tis the same with the Irish,--who're odder fish still."

Any patient who refuses to be "thus tortur'd" must be "coerced," and, continues Tory, it would be a great comfort to know that when he is gone, his place will be taken by a Whig who has profited by his example. Dr. Whig, flattered, pulls out a straitjacket and gag and accepts Tory's aid in putting them on the struggling patient.

The poem's closing line, "You may now put your anodynes off till next year," adds emphasis to Moore's fearful observation that many of the Whigs seemed as intolerant and as little likely to help Ireland as their Tory predecessors.

The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, removing certain restrictions (such as adherence to Anglicanism) in the necessary qualifications for office-holders, took place in 1828 and opened English official positions to Protestant Dissenters. Catholics, however, were still barred from office, and Moore protested the

tenacious hold of the Protestants on all offices by writing a verse parable called "The Cherries." His description of the cherries on a garden wall, protected from "thieving birds" by a net, is representative of the Catholic view of the crippling limitations placed on their political rights by their exclusion from office. The protective net, woven by "Ancient sages," has holes of small dimensions so that through them "only <u>certain</u> knaves can get." The suggestion that the network be widened, when "lots of small dissenting souls" already can get through, is met with horror by advocates of the Test Act. Such a widening would result in the intrusion of "some cursed old Popish crow," and of Arians, Socinians, Methodists and Baptists, and the birds who now have access to the cherries are determined not to permit others in:

> If less costly fruit won't suit 'em,
> Hips and haws, and such like berries,
> Curse the cormorants! stone 'em, shoot 'em,
> Any thing--to save our cherries.

Evidently written "after the fact," as an ironic statement of the situation and an indirect plea for tolerance toward those who are at last enabled to creep through the "network," the poem re-emphasizes the jealous guarding of "places" and the pitiful helplessness of the Catholics.

In 1828 the startling election of Daniel O'Connell to a Parliament in which he, as a Catholic, could not actually take a seat, gave notice to England that Ireland was no longer in a mood for fruitless promises of reform. O'Connell's election was indicative of his nation's determination to make use of what small means it could to make its great dissatisfaction known. Effected

in the face of possible eviction of the small Irish tenants and loss of what little property they had, the vote to return their Catholic leader as an eloquently mute testimony to their desires was doubly significant in that the candidate defeated by O'Connell was Vesey Fitzgerald, a Protestant Irishman who favored Emancipation. Such an event could only mean that Ireland was weary of promises and futile attempts at satisfaction, and had desperately made the decision to illustrate its protest in an obvious way.

This event called up a satire by Moore called "Stanzas from the Banks of the Shannon," in which the defeated Protestant is called a sheet of blank paper on which a lesson to the world has been boldly written:

> For, lo, what a service we, Irish, have done thee;--
> Thou now art a sheet of blank paper no more;
> By Saint Patrick, we've scrawl'd such a lesson upon thee
> As never was scrawl'd upon foolscap before.

"Literary Advertisement" pokes fun at the concern of publishers over the types of material they are offered for publication. In the form of an advertisement calling for authors, the poem points out the literary forms and topics most likely to sell. The dramatist can study high life in the "King's Bench community," where "Aristotle could scarce keep him more <u>within rules</u>,/ And of <u>place</u> he, at least, must adhere to the <u>unity</u>." Memoirs and pamphlets on the Corn Laws will be welcomed as very popular types, and one item sure to sell is the tirade against Catholics, especially by those most likely to be particularly harsh:

No-Popery Sermons, in ever so dull a vein,
  Sure of a market;--should they, too, who pen 'em,
Be renegade Papists, like Murtagh O'Sullivan,
  Something <u>extra</u> allow'd for th' additional venom.

Thus Moore calls attention to the fact that the Catholic question was one of the most popular and controversial topics of the time.

Several of Moore's satires deal with the general treatment of Ireland, her unrelieved oppression. One of these is "Copy of an Intercepted Dispatch," supposedly from a busy demon on earth to his superior in the realms below, which commented humorously on the diabolic nature of England's treatment of the Irish. Having just attempted to play a part in the elections by reviving Penal Code days, the earthly devil felt that,

. . . as we ne'er can those good times revive,
  (Though Eldon, with help from your Highness would try)
'Twould still keep a taste for Hell's music alive,
  Could we get up a thund'ring No-Popery cry--

That yell which, when chorus'd by laics and clerics,
  So like is to <u>ours</u>, in its spirit and tone,
That I often nigh laugh myself into hysterics,
  To think that Religion should make it her own.

The chorus went badly, however, and only one or two voices seemed capable of sustaining the necessary roar, such as that of the eccentric Frederick Maberley, one of Emancipation's opponents. The next time such an attempt is made to harangue against Popery, recruits from the lower regions will be needed.

Moore makes use of an animal fable to point out the condition of the Irish in "The Donky [sic] and his Panniers." After disastrously overloading Neddy, the donkey "whose talent for burdens was wond'rous,/ So much that you'd swear he rejoic'd in a

load," his owners and drivers are puzzled as to the reason for his collapse. Various explanations and suggestions are given for the donkey's situation (the explanations offered range all the way from an "over-production of thistles" to a need for shoes--"a sound metal basis"), to all of which the donkey painfully listens, "lending an ear/ To advisers, whose ears were a match for his own." Only a "plain rustic" who passed by had sense enough to see the true cause and proposed the one sound remedy for the prevention of the complete destruction of the donkey: "Quick--off with the panniers, all dolts as ye are,/ Or your prosperous Neddy will soon kick his last!" In this way Moore tried to tell England that his country had just about reached her last point of endurance and that a refusal to lift at least some of her burdens would be disastrous.

The riddle provides Moore a form to use in again drawing attention to the wrongs visited on Ireland. In "Enigma," beginning "Come, riddle-me-ree, come, riddle-me-ree,/ And tell me what my name may be," the monstrously mistreated nation describes its tremendous growth and the fact that

> . . . they who maintain me, grown sick of my stature,
> To cover me nothing but rags will supply;
> And the doctors declare that, in due course of nature,
> About the year 30 in rags I shall die.

Such a fearful sight, "hungry and bloated," is an object of interest to everyone, whether in palace or cottage--the "lord of counting house" is fearful of the monster's glance over his shoulder while he is "Bright pictures of profit delighting to draw," and the

Duke of Wellington, dreaming of "dear Waterloo" and his own brave show in the battle, is so frightened by the "Boo!" of the riddled being that "he hides his brave Waterloo head in the blanket." The sinful gloating of royalty over its glory and powerful success in the face of unremedied evils is rebuked with a reference to Belshazzar, whose doom was foretold in the message, "Thou art weighed in the balance and art found wanting."[9]

The riddle ends:

> But the joy of my heart is when largely I cram
> My maw with the fruit of the Squirearchy's acres,
> And, knowing who made me the thing that I am,
> Like the monster of Frankenstein,[10] worry my makers.

Thus the poet portrays the Irish nation as an overgrown and ill-treated monster that will destroy its creators unless its condition is remedied.

The preceding large group of poems, only a part of the immense amount of political poetry written by Moore, indicates that he was certainly conscious of the unjust treatment of the Irish and that he was attempting, in this as in many other political matters, to bring the English rulers to their senses with regard to a situation that needed correction. As a Whig, he took delight in chastising the Tory group that opposed all change, regardless of justice. As a liberal and independent man in his thoughts, he was indignantly opposed to oppression of any sort, whether by Whig or Tory. It cannot be said that it was his Irish Catholic background that played the central role in his flying the banner for Catholic rights; that issue was an outstanding one on the political scene of both England and Ireland, and

it would have been much more remarkable for him to avoid the subject, free-spoken as he usually was on most of the political issues of his day, than it was for him to use it as one of his favorite subjects for satire.

CHAPTER VII

There can be no doubt that the Ireland of Moore's time was sadly in need of legislative correction. The method of government, denying to the majority of Irishmen not only the vote but also the opportunity to rise to official positions where their grievances could be more effectively aired, and making such a denial solely on the basis of the Irish devotion to a faith that was for them a part of their national tradition, called forth protests from many statesmen and other prominent figures of the age.

Thomas Moore was one of the best-known men in England in the early nineteenth century, and no small part of the reason for his fame was his staunch defense of Ireland and the enormous number of satirical barbs he let fly at those who persisted in her oppression. Moore's own background of Irish Catholicism, placing him in the category of those citizens of Erin who were refused their logical rights and privileges in the early 1800's, would seem to provide reason enough for his attitude. But the poet's position with respect to his countryland and the reasons for such a position are much more complicated than a statement of his early background would lead one to believe.

True, Moore was born in the Ireland of harsh penal laws, but he was not exposed to the poverty and degradation into which the peasantry were forced by the consistently tight restrictions on commerce, the steadily rising land rents, and the insistent

demand for tithes to the Established Church they did not attend. As a child he was exposed to the type of patriotism characterized by Grattan, in which the rule of Ireland by her enlightened and educated classes was considered advisable, and later observations and experiences only served to convince Moore that, though the people might and should be given a voting voice in their government, legislation itself could be just and effective only if kept out of vulgar hands and in the control of men qualified by experience and learning to understand the responsiblities of rule.

It is noteworthy that Moore was one of the first Catholics to be admitted to the University of Dublin after the relaxation of some restrictions in 1793. This serves to point up again that the poet escaped subjection to the harsher impositions of English rule. True, he was refused the financial award to which his efforts as a student would have entitled him had he not been Catholic, and such an award would doubtless have eased the burden on his parents, but Moore himself seems to have been little affected.

His experiences with Emmet and others at the University, as has been pointed out, early excited his fervor and patriotism, but ended by giving him, through the examination of the students by Lord Clare and through other startling events of 1798, such a warning against personal involvement in rebellion that he never afterward seriously considered actual revolution.

Except for the financial award that should have been a part of the scholarship he won, the poet seems to have been denied little prestige or material gain because of his faith,

largely because he lapsed in the practice of it and made it a point to settle in England where he seldom distinguished himself from his Protestant neighbors. In an evidently apologetic note to The Two-Penny Postbag he was careful to make a distinction between Catholics and Papists, stoutly denying membership in the latter group, and to call attention to his Protestant wife and children and his attendance at their church. These comments on his religious position are hardly compatible with views which maintain that the poet's "patriotism he wore lightly, but not his religion."[1] While it is probably true that his attacks on the Established Church might have been less harsh if he had not been Catholic, it can hardly be said that the religion of his youth was the primary factor in his defense of Ireland.

His later Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion was a defense of the doctrines and validity of the Catholic Church against the accusations of other faiths, but even this serious work served only to make him more certain that Catholicism was the one "logical form of Christianity,"[2] while it failed to overcome the difficulties which he felt prevented him from wholehearted adherence to any religious body.

Throughout his life, the poet sympathized with the Irish people and their courage in oppression, but he often asserted that the Catholics were too fond of violence and controversy, that they had a tendency to prevent unthinkingly much of the reform they claimed to want. In 1807, he wrote disgustedly to

his mother about the conditions in Ireland that he felt were largely the fault of the Catholics themselves:

> Dublin is again . . . or rather still, the seat of wrangle and illiberal contention. The Roman Catholics deserve very little, and even if they merited all that they ask, I cannot see how it is in the nature of things they should get it. They have done much toward the ruin of Ireland, and have been so well assisted by the Protestants throughout, that, between them, Ireland is at this instant as ruined as it need be.[3]

Many people point to the Irish Melodies in order to exhibit Moore's patriotism, but, while it is true that some of the most eloquent verse that sang of Ireland's wrongs and of her spirit was published in these volumes of words and music, these lyrics were a commercial venture and were, as Moore himself commented, designed for the English drawing room rather than the cottage of Erin.

Moore's first political satires, the ponderous "Corruption" and "Intolerance," were evidently written because the poet felt that political themes were necessary for success in the contemporary world of letters. He admittedly drew attention to the corruption of the English and Irish Parliaments, and castigated harmful religious prejudices, but his weighty verses were rendered even less effective by their attempts to combine lines of thought incompatible in their entirety to either Protestants or Catholics, English or Irish.

The portrayal of the "Fire-Worshippers" in Lalla Rookh has been singled out as an interesting picture of the spirited and religious Catholics of Ireland, but the central figure in

"The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan" hints strongly at the poet's dislike for the demagogic methods of such political figures as O'Connell and at the great national danger inherent in the blind trust of such a leader. Suspicion of O'Connell was a consistent attitude of Moore, who was never convinced that the politician's actions were truly motivated by unselfish concern for his people. This aversion to O'Connell kept the poet from total sympathy with the Irish, for he found it impossible to maintain that the methods and aims of the politician were in accord with the best interests of his country. The ignorance of a huge group of people who would let themselves be so misled disgusted the poet and became coupled in his mind with the lowness, the vulgarity of the bulk of Irish Catholic peasants, so that he could hardly be said to have expressed the mind of an Ireland that was almost unanimously swayed by the words of O'Connell and by the instruction of the Catholic clergy, who were described by the poet on one occasion as the people's "own low, miracle-working, whisky-drinking priests."[4]

Moore's association with the Whigs dated from his introduction to such people as Lord Moira in the first few years of the nineteenth century. His hope for a position that would free him from his lifelong financial worries was disappointed when the Prince Regent failed to bring in the Whigs on his advent to power. Thus his first good political satire, The Two-Penny Postbag, was directed primarily against the Prince and the Tories, their ultra-conservative policies and refusal to effect reform; the

problems of Catholic Ireland simply provided, in this group of satirical poems, one among the many topics which the poet used to reprimand the party in power.

In the 1820's, when conditions were steadily growing worse in his homeland, Moore gradually became more concerned about them. While Fables for the Holy Alliance served to add the name of his countryland to the list of oppressed peoples whose rights were seemingly denied by the alliance, a visit to the land of his birth in 1823 made him aware of the alarming state of the people. The result of this new awareness was Memoirs of Captain Rock, which analyzed the causes of Irish dissatisfaction, with special attention to the absurd demands made on a Catholic people by an alien church whose members controlled the ruling body. However, even Captain Rock, one of the strongest statements Moore could make in defense of Ireland's pleas for her rights, exhibited the poet's disagreement with the ways in which his countrymen were attempting to make themselves heard. He could not conceal his detestation of the demagogic leaders and their ability to use the ignorant rabble as they pleased, nor could he sanction the violence that protested the desperate situation of the populace.

As has been pointed out, from 1812 to 1842 Moore steadily wrote political poetry and squibs. As an adherent to the Whig point of view, aware of needed reform and of the Tory failure to effect it, he satirized and attacked the issues that clamored for change. Again, the Irish Catholic question was only one among

many problems of which he wrote. The Corn Laws, the national debt, the Prince's wasteful and treacherous rule--these and other subjects appeared with the Irish question in the great volume of satirical poetry that Moore produced. Ireland's plight provided one among many topics on which to attack the Tories and drew him even closer to the heart of the Whig party. This alliance with the liberal party has subjected Moore to much criticism, as, for example, the accusation that he was "a little too much of the parasite and the hanger-on."[5] But, although the poet identified himself with many Whig movements and with the Whig point of view, at times he attacked both parties for their seeming lack of regard for various problems, notably the Irish one.

It must be reasserted, however, that it was his early association with the Whigs that probably led him into his constant defense of the Catholics in Ireland, as the demand for changes in policy toward that unfortunate country was one of the principal issues in all Whig agitation and attempts to regain influential positions. As Howard Mumford Jones has pointed out, Catholicism was "as much a political question with him as it was a question of spiritual conviction,"[6] and, in the same vein, it can be said that his "love for Ireland was a sentiment only: it never rose to the dignity of a passion."[7] He defended the Irish Catholics by attacking the nobility who oppressed them; his defense was Irish by nature, but "entirely adapted to suit both the preferences and the language of Englishmen"[8]; and he often gave evidence of a hope to see Ireland aided by an eventual (but evidently

very remote) increase in the sense of justice and fair dealing in England itself. As one critic has said, Moore possessed that fatal Irish characteristic, "incurable optimism--our gullibility . . . and . . . innocent persistence in keeping on making appeals from Right to Might."[9] The situation of the Irish people called for more than hope and faith at this time.

Moore's biography of Lord Edward Fitzgerald provides an example of a method of patriotic writing by which Moore was able to avoid, to a large extent, identification with the hasty and ill-advised (although understandable) rebelliousness of his countrymen. In the work on Fitzgerald, the poet makes use of

> nothing impassioned, nothing which hurries the pulse or kindles the eye--but a graceful regret, a carefully guarded appreciation of the acts and motives of that unfortunate and misguided nobleman.[10]

Perhaps this strain of sympathetic observation from a safe distance is the characteristic that helped Moore defend a faith to which he was largely indifferent. From his withdrawn position, he could remember and regard with compassion "the suffering of a people, poor and despised for a faith that to them was one with fatherland."[11]

It seems clear, then, that the poet's Irish Catholic background played a minor (although necessary) role in his attempts to agitate for political rights for the Irish. His youthful years of eye-opening association with Emmet and his informal alienation from the Church of his childhood set the stage for his indignation at England's treatment of Ireland, but primary

among the factors contributing to his defense of his countrymen was his very separation from them; his desire for popularity and recognition, not to mention financial gain; his own early disappointment at the Prince's failure to bring in the Whigs and assure Moore of financial security, and, most important of all, his close association with the Whig nobility and their popular Liberal views.

It must be admitted that Moore exercised a great deal of influence in his day. Political agitation was not acknowledged as a subject for discussion in some of the circles into which his Irish Melodies and political squibs found their way. The Irish poet, then, called the pitiful condition of the people of Ireland and their petitions for change to the attention of an English social group that otherwise might have refused to recognize such problems.

The independence that produced the poet's criticism of Whigs as well as Tories, of Irishmen as well as the English, was the factor that made it his "peculiar glory" to have

> defended his political beliefs honestly from an equalitarianism which he did not trust as well as from reactionary conservatism, to have defended his country from the oppression of the English without condoning her own responsibility for her plight, and to have defended his religion from the bigotry both of her opponents and of herself . . .[12]

NOTES

CHAPTER I

[1] Nassau William Senior, as quoted in Nicholas Mansergh, Ireland in the Age of Reform and Revolution (London, 1940), pp. 28-29.

[2] Stephen Gwynn, The Student's History of Ireland (London, 1925), p. 207.

[3] Eric Strauss, Irish Nationalism and British Democracy (New York, 1951), p. 15.

[4] Gwynn, op.cit., p. 212.

[5] Strauss, op.cit., p. 38.

[6] Howard Mumford Jones, The Harp that Once-- (New York, 1937), p. 26.

[7] Thomas Moore, The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore (London, 1853), I, xv.

[8] Moore, as quoted in Jones, op.cit., pp. 32-33.

[9] Moore, as quoted in Ibid., p. 34.

[10] Ibid., p. 35.

[11] Moore, Poetical Works, IV, xii.

[12] Jones, op.cit., pp. 37-38.

[13] Strauss, op.cit., p. 58.

[14] Algernon Cecil, British Foreign Secretaries 1807-1916 (London, 1927), p. 10.

[15] Ibid, p. 11.

[16] Strauss, op.cit., p. 70.

[17] Ibid., p. 91.

[18] Jones, op.cit., p. 85.

[19] As quoted in Ibid., p. 103.

[20] W. F. P. Stockley, Essays in Irish Biography (Dublin, 1933), p. 27.

[21] Jones, op.cit., p. 118.

[22] Ibid., p. 157.

[23] Strauss, op.cit., p. 92.

[24] As quoted in Gwynn, Thomas Moore (London, 1905), pp. 68-69.

[25] Letter to Lady Donegal quoted in Gwynn, Moore, p. 69.

[26] Mansergh, op.cit., p. 18

[27] Gwynn, Moore, p. 71.

[28] Gavan Duffy: " . . . I had learned to taste the bitter-sweet of his political squibs, and revel in the veiled sedition of 'The Fire Worshippers.'" Quoted in Stockley, op. cit., p. 4.

[29] Jones, op.cit., p. 180.

[30] Ibid., p. 195.

[31] As quoted in Stockley, op.cit., p. 10.

[32] Gwynn, Moore, pp. 110-111.

[33] Memoirs of Captain Rock (Paris, 1835), pp. 99-100.

[34] Howard O. Brogan, "Thomas Moore, Irish Satirist and Keeper of the English Conscience," PQ, XXIV (1945), 272.

[35] Captain Rock, p. 85.

[36] Brogan, op.cit., p. 273.

[37] Captain Rock, p. 74.

[38] As quoted in Stockley, op.cit., p. 18.

[39] Edinburgh Review, XLI, 152.

[40] Brogan, op.cit., p. 273.

[41] Gwynn, Moore, p. 138.

[42] As quoted in Stockley, op.cit., p. 27.

[43] Strauss, op.cit., p. 95.

[44] Jones, op.cit., p. 286.

[45] Gwynn, Moore, p. 136.

[46] Jones, op.cit., p. 286.

[47] Ibid., p. 286.

[48] Letter to Moran, July 1832, as quoted in Ibid., p. 295.

[49] Stockley, op.cit., pp. 6-7.

[50] Jones, op.cit., p. 286.

[51] As quoted in Stockley, op.cit., p. 91.

[52] Raymond Mortimer, "Thomas Moore," Dial, LXXI (1921), 436.

[53] Moore's Diary in 1834, as quoted in Stockley, op.cit., p. 89.

[54] Moore's Diary in 1834, as quoted in Gwynn, Moore, p. 140.

[55] Stockley, op.cit., pp. 87-88.

[56] Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion (Paris, 1835), p. 4.

[57] Moore's Diary, as quoted in Gwynn, Moore, p. 148.

[58] Gwynn, History, p. 264.

[59] Ibid., p. 263.

[60] As quoted in Stockley, op.cit., p. 91.

[61] Mortimer, op. cit., p. 436.

NOTES

CHAPTER II

[1] The Times, January 9, 1841.

[2] Thomas Moore, The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore (London, 1853), IX, v, vii.

[3] The occasion was the setting-up, by the members of a Dublin society, of a mock kingdom which had as its monarch a local pawnbroker, Stephen Armitage. Moore's delight with such an appropriate subject for satire as the "gay travesty of monarchical power" called forth an ode to King Stephen which has not been preserved, but which was recalled by the poet as a contrast of the happy state of the mock-monarch with the situation of the English king, who was at the time forced to take various precautions against mob violence. (Moore, op.cit., I, xvii-xix)

[4] Letter to Lady Donegal, April 27, 1807.

[5] Moore, op.cit., III, 20 (Note).

[6] William Hazlitt, "The Plain Speaker," The Collected Works of William Hazlitt (London, 1902), VII, 382.

[7] Moore, op.cit., III, 39.

[8] John Locke, First Letter on Toleration, as quoted in note to "Intolerance," (Moore, op.cit., III, 48)

[9] Howard Mumford Jones, The Harp That Once-- (New York, 1937), p. 117.

[10] Moore, op.cit., III, 58.

[11] Ibid., III, 66.

[12] Ibid., III, 68.

NOTES

CHAPTER III

[1] Howard Mumford Jones, The Harp That Once-- (New York, 1937), p. 139.

[2] William Hazlitt, The Collected Works of William Hazlitt (London, 1902), V, 152.

[3] Reminiscent of Donne's female Pope in Ignatius, His Conclave.

[4] Thomas Moore, The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore (London, 1853), III, 143.

[5] Ibid., IX, xiii.

[6] Ibid., III, vi.

[7] Hazlitt, op.cit., V, 152.

[8] As quoted in Andrew James Symington, Thomas Moore, the Poet (London, 1880), p. 230.

[9] W. F. P. Stockley, Essays in Irish Biography (Dublin, 1933), p. 19.

[10] As quoted in Ibid., p. 8.

[11] From Chambers' Papers for the People, as quoted in Symington, op.cit., p. 211.

[12] Hazlitt, op.cit., IV, 358-359.

[13] The Prince's Catholic wife, formerly Mrs. Fitzherbert, whose religion was considered an impediment in the political success of the Regent and who was, in consequence, turned out.

[14] Moore, op.cit., III, 189 (Note).

[15] Ibid., III, 190 (Note).

[16] Ibid., III, 191 (Note).

NOTES

CHAPTER IV

[1] Winston S. Churchill, The Great Democracies (A History of the English-Speaking Peoples, vol. 4, New York, 1958), p. 5.

[2] Andrew James Symington, Thomas Moore (London, 1880), p. 126.

[3] Howard O. Brogan, "Thomas Moore, Irish Satirist and Keeper of the English Conscience," PQ, XXIV (1945), 271.

[4] Thomas Moore, Complete Poetical Works (London, 1853), VII, 238.

[5] Described by Moore as "a well-known publisher of irreligious books" (Ibid., V, 239), William Benbow was evidently the author and publisher of such works as the following (described in the British Museum Catalogue): "The Crimes of the Clergy, or the pillars of priestcraft shaken. With an appendix entitled the Scourge of Ireland." This work was published in London in 1823.

NOTES

CHAPTER V

[1] Thomas Moore, Complete Poetical Works (London, 1853), VII, x.

[2] Emile Legouis and Louis Cazamian, A History of English Literature (New York, 1954), p. 1068.

[3] Andrew James Symington, Thomas Moore (London, 1880), p. 104.

[4] Howard O. Brogan, "Thomas Moore, Irish Satirist and Keeper of the English Conscience," PQ, XXIV (1945), 268.

[5] George Saintsbury, Essays in English Literature 1780-1860, (London, 1891), p. 188.

NOTES

CHAPTER VI

[1] Wilfred S. Dowden.

[2] W. F. P. Stockley, "The Religion of Thomas Moore," Essays in Irish Biography (Dublin, 1933), p. 37.

[3] Thomas Moore, Complete Poetical Works (London, 1853), IX, 182 (Note).

[4] Eric Strauss, Irish Nationalism and British Democracy (New York, 1951), p. 109.

[5] Parliamentary Debates (London, 1834), p. 969.

[6] Ibid., p. 973.

[7] Ibid., p. 973.

[8] Ibid., p. 974.

[9] Daniel 5:27.

[10] Mrs. Shelley's Frankenstein was published in 1818.

NOTES

CHAPTER VII

[1] Stopford Brooke, Treasury of Irish Poetry (1900).

[2] W. F. P. Stockley, "Moore and Ireland," Essays in Irish Biography (Dublin, 1933), p. 20.

[3] Letter to his mother, June or July 1807.

[4] Unpublished letter to the Marquis of Lansdowne, ca. 1825, in connection with a pamphlet by a Mr. Driscoll defending the position of the Protestant clergy in Ireland.

[5] George Saintsbury, Essays in English Literature 1780-1860 (London, 1891), p. 183.

[6] Howard Mumford Jones, The Harp That Once-- (New York, 1937), p. 26.

[7] Andrew James Symington, Thomas Moore (London, 1880), p. 211.

[8] Emile Legouis and Louis Cazamian, A History of English Literature (New York, 1954), p. 1067.

[9] Stockley, op.cit.,p. 33.

[10] Symington, op.cit., p. 25.

[11] Stockley, op.cit., p. 20.

[12] Howard O. Brogan, "Thomas Moore, Irish Satirist and Keeper of the English Conscience," PQ, XXIV (1945), 275.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brandes, George. Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature. London: William Heinemann, 1906.

Brogan, Howard O. "Thomas Moore, Irish Satirist and Keeper of the English Conscience." PQ. XXIV (1945), 255-276.

Cecil, Algernon. British Foreign Secretaries 1807-1916. London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1927.

Churchill, Winston S. The Great Democracies (A History of the English-Speaking Peoples, vol. 4). New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1958.

Dictionary of National Biography, The, ed. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee. London: Oxford University Press, 1921.

Feiling, Keith. A History of England. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1948.

Gilfillan, George. "Thomas Moore." Second Gallery of Literary Portraits. Edinburgh: James Hogg, 1850.

Gosse, Edmund W. "Thomas Moore." The English Poets, ed. Thomas Humphrey Ward. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911.

Gwynn, Stephen. The Student's History of Ireland. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925.

_____ Thomas Moore. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1905.

Hazlitt, William. The Collected Works of William Hazlitt. vols. 4,5,7. London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1902.

Houtchens, Carolyn Washburn and Lawrence Huston Houtchens. The English Romantic Poets and Essayists: A Review of Research and Criticism. New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1957.

Jones, Howard Mumford. The Harp That Once--. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1937.

Lecky, William Edward Hartpole. The Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1883.

Legouis, Emile and Louis Cazamian. A History of English Literature. Rev. ed. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954.

Mansergh, Nicholas. Ireland in the Age of Reform and Revolution. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1940.

"Memoirs of Captain Rock." Edinburgh Review. XLI (1824), 143-153.

Moore, Thomas. Diary, selected and edited by J. B. Priestley. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925.

_____ Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence, ed. Lord John Russell. vol. I. London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1853.

_____ Memoirs of Captain Rock. Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1835.

_____ The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore. 10v. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1853.

_____ Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion. Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1835.

Mortimer, Raymond. "Thomas Moore." Dial. LXXI (1921), 423-437.

Moulton, Charles Wells, ed. The Library of Literary Criticism. vol. X. Buffalo: Moulton Publishing Company, 1902.

Parliamentary Debates. Third Series. vol. XXII. London: Baldwin and Cradock, etc., 1834.

Rickard, J. A. History of England. 11th ed. New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1953.

Saintsbury, George. Essays in English Literature 1780-1860. 2nd. ed. London: Percival and Co., 1891.

Stockley, W. F. P. "Moore and Ireland." Essays in Irish Biography. Dublin: Cork University Press, 1933.

_____ "The Religion of Thomas Moore." Essays in Irish Biography. Dublin: Cork University Press, 1933.

Strauss, Eric. Irish Nationalism and British Democracy. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.

Symington, Andrew James. Thomas Moore, the Poet, His Life and Works. London: Blackie & Son, 1880.

Walker, Hugh. English Satire and Satirists. London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1925.